ENGLAND

AND

ISLAM.

BY

HENRY CROSSFIELD.

ISSUED FOR

THE RATIONALIST PRESS ASSOCIATION, LIMITED.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE affairs of England during the past decade have become increasingly affected by the pressure of the circumstances of her world-wide dominion, lately culminating in an intestine struggle of a character only to be paralleled by the historic instance of the Sepoy Revolt. This, contrasted with the lack of statesmanlike foresight and purpose in the conduct of those affairs, through which contingencies like these are sprung unexpectedly upon her people, taxing their resources to the uttermost, cannot but awaken grave apprehensions in the mind of a thoughtful observer of the national course. The reflection arises as to whether the mind of England, as it has hitherto been mainly exercised, is quite equal to the stress of the colossal responsibilities and duties that a convergence of causes has thrust upon her. Is this haphazard method of a " race that lives to make mistakes and dies to retrieve them," aptly remarked of the disastrous Indian Mutiny, a fateful flaw in the intelligence of a people priding themselves on their practical genius and theoretic indifference, " who exert every variety of talent on a lower ground, and may be said to live and act in a sub-mind " ? Is it destined, unless properly rectified, to prove the means by which their powerful ascendancy may be ultimately overthrown ? We would fain think otherwise, in face of all the potentialities underlying the supremacy of a race whose literature and traditions, notwithstanding, yield so fruitful a contribution to the world of human ideas, such strenuous strivings after freedom and progress.

For, as Emerson has well observed in his incisive criticism of England : " A retrieving power lies in the English race which seems to make any recoil possible—in other words, there is at all times a minority of profound minds existing in the nation capable of appreciating every soaring of intellect and every hint of tendency. While the constructive talent seems dwarfed and superficial, the criticism is often in the noblest tone, and suggests the presence of the invisible gods." Yet it is just this constructive talent of which we now stand in most need. And if our future constructive methods and policy are to

be placed upon a surer foundation of prescience and alertness, the main hope rests with the power of this rationalist minority to lend its masculine judgment to the higher task of positive prescription and intelligent purposive action. This is especially true of the problem presented by England's Eastern dominion —that complex, unique, and apparently alien factor in the Imperial system. On more careful examination that factor may be found to possess greater affinities to this system than might otherwise be imagined. In Emerson's words: "By the law of contraries, I look for an irresistible taste for Orientalism in Britain. For a self-conceited, modish life, made up of trifles, clinging to a corporeal civilization, hating ideas, there is no remedy like the Oriental largeness. That astonishes and disconcerts English decorum. For once there is thunder it never heard, light it never saw, and power which trifles with time and space." The consideration of one aspect of this Eastern relation from the wider standpoint thus indicated is the aim of the present study.

H. C.

September, 1900.

ENGLAND AND ISLAM.

I.

In the record of confused conflict, in the course of human development, of creeds and polities, of theories and ideals of life and thought and conduct—a conflict remaining one of the most vital concerns of mankind to-day—the system known under its general designation of "Islam" holds a distinctive place. The inception and rapid extension throughout some of the fairest regions of the Eastern and Western worlds (richest also in imposing historic associations) of this comparatively simple, yet strenuous and vivified, system of faith and social regulation—its growth into a flourishing theocratic empire, and its gradual temporal decline—constitute, I think, one of the most interesting and suggestive chapters in the history of that development. Remembering, too, the prolonged struggle of Christendom and Islam for possession of the esteemed holy places of the Western religious concept, the part played by this country and its warrior-king, Richard I., in that movement yields a singular contrast to the position we have now to consider. It is a significant reflection on the vicissitudes and uncertainties of national destiny that through the subsequent growth of commercial and industrial expansion and supremacy, which lends its distinguishing character to the contribution of England to the general heritage of human culture and civilization, there should incidentally have arisen the acquisition of a great Oriental empire, involving later a corresponding series of relations with practically the whole Islamic world. For both in respect of the millions of our Mohammedan fellow-subjects owning direct allegiance to the British Crown, and of the further contingencies and extended interests of our Indian polity in its connection with neighbouring or adjacent States, the influence of Great Britain is now in constant operation in one form or other throughout the whole of the vast field over which the earlier Islamic empire once exercised its puissant sway, and where the faith still continues to steadily hold its ground. The causes that have brought about this

situation present such peculiar features in themselves, and have so important a bearing on the issues we propose to consider, that a *résumé* of their leading circumstances is necessary before we can arrive at a correct understanding of its real nature and consequence.

When, in 1702, the English traders to the east were amalgamated under the title of the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies—better known as "The Honourable East India Company"—they were then already established at various trading settlements along the coast of India, secured after a century of jealous struggle with their Portuguese and Dutch rivals, and little noticed by the paramount power in that country. This power, in fact, was beginning to show signs of decay and disruption; and, as the last great Mughal Emperor Aurangzíb closed his career in 1707, it was with a gloomy foreboding of the approaching ruin of his kingdom. Two centuries earlier, Bábar, the Chagatai Tartar, sixth in descent from the destroyer Tamerlane, had descended on India through the Afghan passes with his northern hordes to establish the Mughal Empire. This, the latest of similar invasions, assumed a more permanent character than previous ones, the Mughal Empire eventually extending its power over the whole northern portion of the peninsula, and exercising a suzerainty over the remainder. Thus a comparatively powerful Mussulman ascendancy came to supersede that of the Brahman; lending its peculiar contribution to the growth of Indian civilization in the architectural monuments, the stately palaces, tombs, temples, and mosques, which remain to distinguish the Mohammedan *régime*. It is to this dynasty that the long and enlightened rule of the famous Akbar (1556 to 1605) belongs, with whom it would seem to have reached its consolidation. By a judicious exercise of tolerance towards the diverse creeds of his subjects, a liberal bestowal of official patronage, and an equitable revenue system, Akbar sought to strengthen the foundations of his kingdom in a way which renders his reign one of the bright episodes of Indian history. An element of degeneracy, however, makes its appearance in the later Mughal emperors, with its inevitable sequence of misrule. "Bábar, the founder of the Empire, had swum every river which he met with during thirty years' campaigning; the luxuriant nobles around the youthful Aurangzíb wore skirts made of innumerable folds of finest white muslins, and went to war in palanquins." The death of Aurangzíb, whose ill-advised methods had alienated most of his subjects, found the empire threatened from the south by

the growing power of the organization of the Maráthás (predatory Hindu chieftains from the mountains of Central India); and Rájput princes of Rájputána, the Sikhs of the Punjáb, and even the Viceroys, and minor States in Southern India, alike bent on asserting their independence of its decaying authority. Meanwhile a further European element had entered into the situation, through the efforts of the French to secure a share of the East India trade under the directing policy of Colbert. By the middle of the century they had secured several factories and stations in the south; and the genius of Dupleix, the French Governor of Pondicherry, clearly foresaw how, by skilfully utilising the rival antagonisms of the separate Indian princes in the anarchy that then prevailed, a secure European dominion might be founded on the continent. The story of the vicissitudes of this struggle, in which the English found themselves impelled to take part in defence of their very existence in the country, and the manner in which the combinations of the French were met and frustrated at the outset by the resource and resolution of Robert Clive, can only be briefly touched upon here. In the sequel the Company found itself committed to the responsibility of territorial possession in India,—a movement which, when once begun, advanced with such rapidity that Clive could write to Pitt in 1766: "It is scarcely hyperbole to say, to-morrow the whole Mogul Empire is in our hands." Consolidated in various directions as these possessions afterwards became under the able statecraft of Warren Hastings, the security of the Company's tenure still remained, however, inadequately assured. The Maráthá confederacy had now grown into a formidable military power, equally bent upon seizing the Mughal inheritance, and driving the new foreign supremacy from the land. And it was with the Maráthás, and, later, with the warlike Sikhs, that the real struggle for military predominance in India was ultimately and successfully fought out. "Before we appeared as conquerors the Mughal Empire had broken up. Our final and most perilous wars were neither with the Delhi king, nor with his revolted Muhammadan viceroys, but with the two Hindu confederacies—the Maráthás and the Sikhs. Muhammadan princes fought against us in Bengal, in the Karnátik, and in Mysore; but the longest opposition to the British conquest of India came from the Hindus. Our last Maráthá war dates as late as 1818, and the Sikh Confederation was overcome only in 1849."*

* Sir W. W. Hunter.

The English dominion in India, then, cannot be strictly said to have been won from the Mohammedans. This achievement, however, has indirectly brought our nation into the position of authority over a great Mohammedan population, which numbered in India alone, at the last census in 1891, over 57,000,000, or nearly three times the number of the Moslem subjects of the Sultan of Turkey. On their general status and disposition towards our rule an eminent Anglo-Indian* observes : " But it may be said that the mere numbers of the population prove little. What is the power and wealth of the Anglo-Mohammedan dominion as compared with that of the other Mohammedans ? Well, as regards power, it is impossible to distinguish the Anglo-Mohammedan power from that of Britain herself. But, as regards wealth, we may remark that the agriculture of the Mohammedan peasantry of India, the navigation in the hands of her Mohammedan sailors and boatmen, the trade conducted by her Mohammedan traders, greatly exceed anything that can be shown by any other Mohammedan nation—indeed, by all other Mohammedan nations together. Moreover, the Anglo-Mohammedan population is increasing fast, whereas in Turkey and Persia it is understood to be decreasing. In all the counsels of political Mohammedanism, then, the British Sovereign is entitled to a place in the very first rank, as representing the dominion over the largest and richest Mohammedan population in the world.

" In India the mass of the Mohammedans are peaceful, industrious, and loyal. It is well that Englishmen should realize this great fact. But it is also necessary for them to remember that among these generally sober-minded Mohammedans there are many persons of a different stamp. These are bigoted, even desperate ; and nothing that we can offer will pacify them. Therefore, Mohammedan troubles have from time to time arisen in India.........Under British rule these Indian Mohammedans have been beaten in the intellectual race by their Hindu fellow-subjects. For the first generation or so after the introduction of British rule the Mohammedans got on well in the public service, having more of readiness and vigour than the Hindus. In the next generation there came a system of national education and competitive examinations. Then the Hindu youth, being more patient and studious, had altogether the best of it. Thus the Mohammedans found themselves to be fast slipping out of the position they had so long

* Sir Richard Temple.

enjoyed in the administration of the country. Seeing this, they have begun to exert themselves more than formerly respecting their colleges and schools. Still, they have much way to make up before they can come abreast of the Hindus. In the larger operations of commerce they never have been equal to the Hindu caste which combines the functions of money-lender and traders. But in the lesser business of trade, and especially in retail dealing, they always excel. For agriculture they affect but little in most parts of the country. But in some parts, as in the Panjab, they do something considerable. In eastern and northern Bengal, too, they do very much indeed. Englishmen, perhaps, do not ordinarily realize that many articles coming from that quarter to Europe, such as jute, safflower, rice, are produced by Mohammedan hands. This Mohammedan peasantry is rising in a humble but solid prosperity, and is growing in numbers more rapidly than the population of any part of the Empire. Their temper, though generally good, is excitable. I have known them listen to the voice of agrarian agitators, threaten their landlords, demand a general lowering of rent, surround with angry crowds the offices of the land agents and the like. But, with promptitude and firmness on the part of the Government, such movements are always kept within bounds. As boatmen on inland waters, too, these Bengali Mohammedans are excellent, and the traffic which they thus conduct is enormous. As seamen, on the coasts or on the ocean, they are the principal class employed. They supply the crews to the vessels of steam navigation companies. If ever England decided to have some ships of war with European officers and native crews (for service in Eastern waters), the Mohammedans of the Bengal and Bombay coasts would be the men for this work.

"Let us next glance at the Afghans. They have been said by some authorities to be democratic, whatever that may mean. They certainly hate authority of any kind. They cannot hang together for any purpose of politics or of war. They form little societies among themselves like clans. Then every clan will insist on being a law to itself and of doing as it likes. What they all like best is this—to quarrel, kill, and plunder, according to the impulse of the time. Such a people is never formidable politically of itself. But it may be as a double-edged sword, as a sharp-pointed lance, for a temporary purpose in the hands of a designing and organizing Power. Why the people have such a strange character we cannot now pause to inquire. But obviously the rugged and isolated nature of the country is one of the reasons.

"In regard to religion, the Indian Mohammedans preserve their faith despite all the efforts of the Christian missionaries. Some few converts are made from Mohammedanism. But the great numbers of native Christians, in whom Christendom thankfully rejoices, belong to tribes other than Mohammedan. One reason of this, no doubt, is the comparative purity and simplicity of the doctrines of Islam. The Mohammedan priesthood continues to be thoroughly organized, although the British Government stands quite aloof from the organization. Most of the religious endowments, granted by former Mohammedan Sovereigns, are respected and maintained by the British. Still, the priestly classes are fanatical and often fierce. We must hope that a kindly policy will conciliate many of them.........Politically, the Mohammedan peasantry are for the most part well affected. Among the upper classes some are singularly loyal, and play a truly honourable part towards us. Others, again, are in quite the opposite way."*

It has also been observed in the face of the numerous influences which are steadily sapping the strength of Brahmanism: "To all appearance, the people of India are drifting, slowly but surely, towards the religion of the Prophet of Arabia rather than towards that Christianity which is freely offered to them, but which they are not prepared to accept."

And beyond those immediately subject to our rule in India there are many millions more of Mohammedans who, in Asia and in Africa, are becoming increasingly affected by England's Eastern polity. Mohammedan communities adjoin our distant frontiers—in Yunnan on the borders of Burma, in Kashgar in the extreme

* A further striking testimony to the fundamental loyalty of Indian Mohammedans is to be seen in the address presented to Lord Roberts, on his departure from India in 1893, from the Mohammedans of the Punjab. It is equally valuable as an earnest of the feeling of Orientals towards those who have learnt the secret of winning their sympathy, so well shown in the career of this distinguished exemplar. I extract the following: "The greatest pleasure and satisfaction, however, that we Mohammedans feel in presenting this address to Your Lordship emanates from the idea that you go on your way home to your native country, with a high and favourable opinion of the Mohammedans of India, true and loyal subjects to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, whose number exceeds six crores, and who are rapidly growing...... Although, for certain reasons which we need not detail here, our nation has been deficient in education, and we have been left much behind in obtaining civil employment, we hope that your long experience of our service will prove a good testimonial in favour of the warlike spirit, military genius, and loyalty of our nation, and if the circle of civil employment has become too straitened for us, the military line will be generously opened to us."

north. The holding of important strategic and trading stations on the coasts of Arabia, Africa, Spain, involves neighbourly associations with Moslems. Those Arabs in the vicinity of our position at Aden—the first ever held by a foreign power in Arabia—are friendly to British protection ; Arabs also take service in the armies of the native Princes of India ; while from the number of pilgrims to Mecca and Medina who yearly take advantage for their purpose of the British shipping navigating the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, and the Red Sea, the British name and power becomes indirectly popular with pious Mohammedans. Similarly, the exigencies of our Eastern position have necessitated various relations with the adjacent or neighbouring States of Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Persia, Turkey, and Egypt, all mainly peopled by the adherents of Islam. Early in this century Lord Minto, the Indian Governor-General, sought to cultivate friendly and sympathetic relations between England and several of these States, in view of the menace to our growing Indian possessions of the hostile policy of Napoleon and his quondam ally, Russia ; while an important expedition had been previously dispatched to Egypt from India as a defensive movement to help drive the French from that land. I must pass over for the present the chequered record of our dealings with those States, illustrating, as it too often unfortunately would seem to do, a fatal lack of the prescience and consistency of purpose which so strikingly characterize the steady progress and policy of our great rival in the contest for supremacy in the East—namely, Russia. Remembering how these countries form a cordon, as it were, to the approach of a hostile western force towards India, the importance to England of an intelligent understanding with the directing forces of Islam becomes overwhelmingly apparent ; especially, too, in view of the fact that our native army is now largely recruited from the martial Moslem races on the frontiers. The significance of the situation is aptly summed up in a conversation related by Lord Roberts with the late Sir Madhava Rao, ex-Minister of the Baroda State, who remarks : " ' We have heard of the cry, " India for the Indians," which some of your philanthropists have raised in England ; but you have only to go to the Zoological Gardens and open the doors of the cages, and you will very soon see what would be the result of putting that theory into practice. There would be a terrific fight among the animals, which would end in the tiger walking proudly over the dead bodies of the rest.' 'Whom,' I inquired, 'do you consider

to be the tiger?' 'The Mohammedan from the north,' was his reply."

The various concerns of this country in Africa afford a still further indication of the way in which English affairs have tended to become deeply involved with those of Islam. The veiled protectorate which we now exercise over Egypt, and the work of reconstruction upon which we have been engaged since our occupation of the country in 1882, have also carried with them a connection with the whole Nile Valley, including the fanatical population of the Eastern Sudan. Again, through the expansion of commercial enterprise in the region of the Niger—and the necessities of ordered government which such enterprise amid primitive conditions naturally entails—a vast territory and a great Mohammedan population have quite recently come directly under English administration. And, notwithstanding that the agreement with France concerning Africa leaves the greater part of the Central Sudan to her "sphere of influence," our own interests must bring us into closer contact with the whole ot this region. Only those, presumably, who have given especial attention to the subject are aware of the extent and comparative civilization of the Mohammedan communities of Central Africa. They have been graphically, if perhaps somewhat rhetorically, depicted by the eminent Frenchman, M. Hanotaux, who has exercised so determining an influence on the African policy of his country. He states: "It is here that the potent agglutination of Mohammedanism curbs, moulds, and disciplines negro anarchy. On this confine of the two worlds the travellers beheld with surprise arising before them a spectacle of the *Arabian Nights*: vast empires with agglomerated populations; regular dynasties whose origin can be traced back for centuries; townships as large as European towns, where Moorish constructions, bleaching in the sunshine, tower above the straw huts of the natives; splendid armies numbering warriors by the hundred thousand, with picked corps of twenty to thirty thousand horsemen; at the head of these troops a black Sultan on a white horse, who might be taken for the Sultan of Morocco of to-day, or the Bey of Tunis as he was but yesterday......an active commerce, and one tongue—the Houssa—forming one connecting link between these populations for the purposes of intercourse and trade. Such are the leading features of this vast region, which is self-supporting, shut out from the existence and the agitation of the other parts of the globe, but whose history is surprising from its variety, interest,

and importance." The English traveller, Mungo Park, was surprised to find, on reaching the Niger, that Sego, the capital of the district, was a walled town containing some 30,000 inhabitants, with square whitewashed houses, with Moorish mosques, numerous canoes on the river, and a highly cultivated surrounding country; "altogether a prospect of civilization and magnificence which I little expected to find in the bosom of Africa." Indeed, the general consensus of evidence supports the conclusion that Islam has, in general, proved a civilizing factor in Central Africa as compared with the conditions prevailing prior to its appearance there.

There remains, however, one exception here which requires consideration, on account of its connection with our whole survey; and this has reference to the Eastern Sudan and the extraordinary series of events which have agitated that country since our occupation of Egypt. To rightly understand the nature of that great religious upheaval which, under the name of "Mahdiism," had convulsed the Sudan until the recent resumption of the authority of the Egyptian Government over the Nile Valley, requires an accurate appreciation of some of the most widespread beliefs obtaining among the less enlightened portion of the Mohammedan world. It must suffice here to note that the idea of a "Mahdi" corresponds in Islam to that of the "Messiah" among Oriental Jews, or even the "Second Advent" in Christendom. The word signifies the "Guided," or one who guides in the *hadaya*, or true way of salvation, and has reference to a belief in the coming of an inspired restorer of the pristine glory and supremacy of Islam when the time shall propitiously occur. This belief exists under two separate aspects in the minds of the two great divisions of Islam—the Sunni and the Shia' sects, to whom we shall have occasion to return when we come to discuss the question of the "Khalifate." At the time of the rise of "Mahdiism" there were, in fact, two claimants to this distinction in Africa, representing these respective aspects of the belief; and it is to the Shia' view that the more famous one belongs.* The Sunni African "Mahdi"

* "Mahdiism has two sides to it. There is the Mahdi whose coming is looked forward to by good Sunnis, as the advent of the Messiah is expected by the Jews. And there is the Mahdi who disappeared, and may appear miraculously at any moment to good Shia's. In the tenets of all sects of the Moslems there is an intimate connection between the Mahdi and Jesus Christ. Some believe Christ will be the Mahdi—*i.e.*, expect His second advent; others share the opinion as stated by Ibn Khaldun (1406), who, in the introduction to his history of the Arabs, Persians, and Berbers, says: 'At all times the Moslems have believed that towards the end of the world a man of the

is at the head of the powerful organization known, from its founder, as the Sennussi order—a movement of reform in African Islam directed partly to the resistance of Western innovation, and which is strongly established in the kingdom of Wadai, adjoining Darfur, the westernmost portion of the present Egyptian Sudan. Overtures on the part of the Mahdiists to the Sennussi for their co-operation were steadily rejected.

Mohammed Ahmed, who set up to be the long-expected Shia' "Mahdi," was a native of Dongola, and a well-instructed Moslem "Imam," or sheikh. Acquiring immense fame as a preacher, he eventually headed the accumulating forces of antagonism to the Egyptian rule which had been engendered among the Sudanese; partly arising out of legitimate hostility to its misgovernment, partly from its attempted suppression of the slave trade during the governorship of the ill-fated Gordon. This last was keenly resented by the fierce and dominating tribe of the Baggara Arabs, who had been the principal instruments of the slave traffic. The fanatical side of Mahdiism was skilfully utilized by the Baggara, with whom the Mahdi had allied himself by marriage, for the furtherance of their own imperious ends; and they it was who furnished the principal "Emirs," or leaders, of the movement which eventually annihilated the last vestige of Egyptian authority or force that remained in the land. The upshot was the establishment of a ruthless tyranny by the dominant race, devoid of even such nascent civilization as had pertained to the Egyptian rule, and under the guise of a severe religious discipline, which came to be even more detested by its helpless victims than had been the *régime* it had superseded. The singular commingling of fanatical superstition, hypocritical delusion by the leaders, barbarous courage in the cause deemed sacred, and cunning manipulation of self-interest, which together make up the Mahdist revolution, constitutes one of the most remarkable social eruptions of which we possess authentic and detailed knowledge, and a pregnant monition to the higher civilization of the unestimated forces of regression existing in the dark places of the earth to-day. The story of England's dealing with this tremendous upheaval, with which she was inevitably confronted through her newly-assumed position in Egypt, is scarcely a satisfactory retrospect to recall; but it again

Prophet's family would appear to sustain the true religion. He will lead the believers, and be named "the Mahdi." Then will appear the Messih ed Dejjal (Antichrist). After the appearance of the latter, Christ (Jesus) will come down from heaven and destroy him, and the Mahdi will become Christ's Imam.'"—Major F. R. Wingate's *Mahdiism.*

sternly enforces the lesson that her growing imperial concerns involve related complex issues requiring the utmost available intelligence and courageous initiative for their proper guidance. Whilst distinctly approving, as a gain, in effect, to Moslem civilization and freedom, the line of policy which, steadily pursued, has triumphantly resulted in the recent destruction, under English leadership, of the debased Mahdist empire, we have once more to note that the reconquest of the Sudan has brought a further increment of the ignorant Moslem population, but lately recovered from intense excitement, under the control of a handful of English officers. So the responsibility of England towards Islam has steadily grown, until practically the whole Mohammedan world has come, in some degree or other, within the sphere of her influence.

To examine the prospects and possibilities which such an influence, rightly administered, would seem to afford for the advancement of humanist and civilizing agencies is the main purport of this study.

II.

Reviewing the situation thus presented, it implies that, while the Islamic faith still retains its hold over the greater part of the world where formerly it exercised a temporal sway as a great theocratic power, its interests, and even future hopes and aspirations, have become increasingly affected by those of a western power that, rising to dominion in India on the ruins of the former Mussulman sovereignty, has yet been subsequently brought into still closer relationship with Islam itself, either through the exigencies and needs of her Oriental inheritance, or as the outcome of her continuous commercial expansion. It is obvious, in face of all the great issues that surround England's future in Asia, that the existing friendship or enmity of even a considerable portion of the Mohammedan community must at any time count for much in estimating the security of her eastern tenure, and the forms of social and intellectual development which may causally arise out of this meeting of east and west. The question, then, we have now to consider is, In what way can such an intelligent amity be arrived at with our Mohammedan neighbours and fellow-subjects as shall best conduce in its every phase to the highest advantage of each and all concerned? To answer this question

satisfactorily requires a clear conception, in the first place, of what English civilization may fairly be said in its vital essence to embody, when brought into dynamical relations with the various forms of Oriental society. In the second, an equally valid comprehension is necessary of the real nature and leading concepts of the faith and social polity of Islam ; of its types of civilization as exhibited alike in its history and in the main features of its society to-day ; and of the leading political factors which have mainly determined our previous policy towards the principal Mohammedan States. What, moreover, is of highest importance is to see if the indications afforded by various manifestations of thought under Islam may lead to the hopeful conclusion that, intelligently approached, there can be induced a new development towards rationality in its best educated circles, which will beneficently react on the whole future of its position in the civilized world. Let us proceed to consider the subject in each of these aspects.

In most of the disquisitions which have come under my notice bearing on the peculiar relationship which has thus been created between these two distinctive national types of thought and of social organization, the assumption is inferred that England is an essentially Christian power, and that the problem thus evolved has reference to the effect which is thereby calculated to be produced on the minds of earnest Moslems. Now, the first appearance of the English in the East is in that character which has won for England her special place in the hierarchy of nations —namely, as vigorous seekers after material wealth and commerce, a race of traders compelled through circumstances to occupy the position of territorial rulers. Setting aside for the moment the question as to the reality of the " Christian " character of English civilization, the decisive fact has first to be appreciated that, in all our earlier dealings with the East, that power has definitely and necessarily been presented before the Oriental peoples who have been brought under its sway as associated with strict religious neutrality, with toleration and freedom of thought. Only in extreme cases, where actual religious usages, as in the existence of *suttee*, conflicted with universal sentiments of humanity, did the Company's rule in India venture to interfere with the established beliefs and customs of the people. Warren Hastings won the confidence of the Hindus largely by his wise and careful policy in this direction, and is credited with advising the Government, on his return to England, to discourage missionary

enterprise in India. When we reflect on the long struggle for the attainment of those priceless gains to life and thought due to religious freedom in our own country, and their practical non-existence in several quarters of the world to-day, the extension of these principles *pari-passu* with the expansion of the territorial dominion of England must be regarded as one of the incalculable benefits which have incidentally accompanied that expansion. This fact must appeal to the sympathies of all truly liberal circles at home, and is of immense indirect import in a world where religion —even if in superstitious and retrogressive forms—dominates every phase and habit of life, and where intense religious antagonisms prevail. Only when this principle has in any way been infringed—as in the apparent countenance lent by the Supreme Government to the idea of the "evangelization" of the masses of India at the time of the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny—has religious difficulty arisen with the natives, fearfully exemplified in that ever-memorable crisis.

Moreover, in no way can the social polity of England be historically said to embody a distinctively "Christian" character in the sense that a country like France or Spain exhibited that character; there a predominant Church for long influenced by its dogmas the whole national course and feeling. The nominal religion of England —a faith originally introduced from the East—has for centuries been held subordinate to the secular interests of the nation; and meanwhile there has arisen that splendid efflorescence of her vital genius and thought represented in her serious philosophic and imaginative literature, which may be truly interpreted as one of the greatest and most seminal contributions to the enlightenment of mankind ever vouchsafed in the history of our race. The dominant note in all this work of illumination is a catholic humanism in the treatment of the conduct of life, and the direction of the understanding towards reason and rationalism for the solution of the troubled problem of existence. It is doubtful whether our own society has yet realized the full significance of this mighty intellectual and moral inheritance. For between this organon and the national life there interposes the peculiar conventionalized institution of the Established Church, with its extensive control over the Universities and the higher sources of education, and its leaning towards the conservation of mental obfuscation. "The religion of England is part of good breeding. It is the church of the gentry; but it is not the church of the poor. The operatives do not own it. The torpidity on the side of religion of the vigorous English

understanding shows how much wit and folly can agree in one brain. Their religion is a quotation ; their church is a doll ; and any examination is interdicted with screams of terror. In good company you expect them to laugh at the fanaticism of the vulgar ; but they do not ; they are the vulgar."

"But the religion of England—is it the Established Church? No. Is it the sects? No ; they are only perpetuations of some private man's dissent, and are to the Established Church as cabs are to a coach—cheaper and more convenient, but really the same thing. Where dwells the religion? Tell me first where dwells electricity or motion, or thought, or gesture. They do not dwell or stay at all......Yet, if religion be the doing of all good, and, for its sake, the suffering of all evil, *souffrir de tout le monde et ne faire souffrir personne*, that divine secret has existed in England from the days of Alfred to those of Romilly, of Clarkson, and of Florence Nightingale, and in thousands who have no fame."*

Or as Kipling has wittily put it : "East of Suez, some hold, the direct control of Providence ceases ; man being there handed over to the power of the Gods and Devils of Asia, and the Church of England Providence only exercising an occasional and modified supervision in the case of Englishmen." Not in her conventions, but in the vital forces of her intellectual and spiritual life, must the real influence of England be sought when in turn affected by that Orientalism to which reference was made in our introduction. Ere we can seek to estimate the manner in which their interaction in connection with the system of Islam is likely to consummate, we must first obtain a comprehension of what, in truth, the leading concepts of the last may be said to consist. Let us, therefore, proceed to examine this system.

Few Orthodox Englishmen, probably, are cognisant of the close connection existing between the origins and source of their own belief and those of Mohammedanism. At the period of the advent of Mohammed—or he who, with his mission, appears under the significant name of "the Praised"†—the Christian world was rent into a multitude of divisions and sects over questions of doctrine and ritual, only united by the one quality that they were equally animated by a ferocious hatred of each other. Among the more illumined of these sects were the Nestorians, who opposed themselves to the Trinitarianism and Mariolatry which were becoming

* Emerson.

† It is doubtful whether this was his original name.

paramount in Christian theology, who were admirers of Aristotle, and who were driven by the persecution of the stronger party to seek an asylum in that unconquered land of freedom, Arabia, stretching from the Indian Ocean to the Syrian Desert. Hither also had come considerable colonies of Jews after the Roman conquest of Palestine ; so that the more active and trading portion of the Arabs (a kind of enterprise for which they had long been famous) were naturally brought into contact with representatives of the diverse forms of religious thought then agitating the outside world. It is reported that, in his early capacity as a caravan tender, and in the course of sundry journeys into Syria, the youthful Mohammed was thus brought under the influence of the Nestorians ; and his mind, naturally curious and sensitive to religious impressions, was thereby led to the consideration of religious problems. There is evidence also of extensive Jewish elements and inspirations in the form of thought in which his convictions eventually took shape, more especially as these appear in that curious miscellany of Jewish traditions, superstitions, and ethics combined together in the Talmud.* He was impressed by the prevailing idolatry of his countrymen, through the hereditary association of his family or clan with the guardianship of the "Kaaba," the sacred stone of Mecca, and equally with the notions respecting Trinitarianism current among many of the Christian sectaries, in so far as a mind trained like his would be likely to interpret their subtleties. He eventually appears as the strenuous prophet of that particular form of monotheism with which his name is historically associated. "The Hebrew, the Greek, the Aramaic phases of monotheism, the Old Testament, the New Testament, the Targum, and the Talmud were each in their sphere fulfilling their behests. The times were ripe for the Arabic phase."

Other thoughtful minds, both earlier and contemporarily with Mohammed, had been led to similar questionings and search after a purer belief; but to him was left the task of re-affirming the

* Mohammed apparently cherished the hope early in his career as a Prophet that the Jews would accept him as their Messiah ; but the "exclusiveness" of the Jews prevented this. His attitude towards those of the prevailing faiths is thus noted by Dr. Leitner : "Dispute not with the people of the Scripture [Christians and Jews] unless in the kindliest manner, *except against such of them as deal evilly ;* and say ye, 'We believe in that which has been sent down unto us [the Koran], and also in that which has been sent down unto you [the Old and New Testaments], *and our God and your God is one,* and to Him are we self-surrendered [resigned, or Muslims]."—(*Koran,* annotated by G. W. Leitner, LL.D.)

message of the Hebrew Psalmist and prophet—the existence of the one Eternal God—the assertion of the new doctrine of *Islam.* We must pass over here the vicissitudes and struggles—social and mental—of that remarkable career, the questions associated with the personality of the Prophet, and the later means to which he was led for the extension among his people of the faith. What concerns us is to endeavour to learn the inner secret of his ultimate success, the meaning of the devotion which his creed still inspires, and sincerely inspires, in millions of mortals to-day. "First of all, what is the literal meaning of Islam, the religion of a Muslim? We find that name, Muslim, already applied to those *Hanifs*, of whom we have spoken above, who had renounced, though secretly, idolatry before Mohammed, and had gone out to seek the 'religion of Abraham,' which Mohammed finally undertook to re-establish. The Semitic root of the word 'Muslim' yields a variety of meanings, and, accordingly, Muslim has had many interpretations. *Salm*, the root of *Islam*, means, in the first instance, to be tranquil, at rest, to have done one's duty, to have paid up, to be at perfect peace, and, finally, to hand oneself over to Him with whom peace is made. The noun derived from it means peace, greeting, safety, salvation. And the Talmud contains both the term and the explanation of the term 'Muslim,' which in its Chaldee meaning had become naturalized in Arabia. It indicates a 'righteous man.' In a paraphrase of Proverbs xxiv. 16, where the original has *Zadik* (*Ziddik* in Koran), which is rightly translated by the Authorized Version 'just man,' the Talmud has this very word. 'Seven pits are laid for the "Muslim"' (*Shalmana*—Syr. *Msalmono*), it says, and 'one for the wicked; but the wicked falls into his one, while the other escapes all seven.' The word thus does not imply absolute submission to God's will, as generally assumed, either in the first instance or exclusively, but means, on the contrary, one who strives after righteousness with his own strength. Closely connected with the misapprehension of this part of Mohammed's original doctrine is also the popular notion on that supposed bane of Islam, Fatalism. But we must content ourselves here with the observation that, as far as Mohammed and the Koran are concerned, Fatalism is an utter and absolute invention. Not once, but repeatedly, and as if to guard against such an assumption, Mohammed denies it as distinctly as he can, and gives injunctions which show as indisputably as can be that nothing was further from his mind than this pious state of idle and hopeless inanity and stagnation. But to return to Islam. The real sum and substance

of it is contained in Mohammed's words : 'We have spoken unto thee by revelation—*Follow the religion of Abraham.*' What did Mohammed and his contemporaries understand by this religion of Abraham ? 'Abraham,' says the Koran, pointedly and pregnantly, 'was neither a Jew nor a Christian ; but he was pious and righteous, and no idolater.' Have we not here the briefest and the most rationalistic doctrine ever preached ?"*

Emphatic insistence on the unity and self-existence of God, as opposed to Christian Trinitarianism, is an essential part of this teaching ; though the personality of Jesus is always spoken of with respect as one of the greatest of the "prophets," and indeed is so regarded by the majority of Muslims to-day. The manner, too, in which the attributes of Deity are set forth is equally important. "The Prophet of Arabia naturally dwelt most on those attributes of God which, throwing the widest gulf between the Creator and His creatures, would, once and for all, rescue the Arabs from worshipping what their own hands had made. He inculcates hope in adversity, and humility in success, on the ground that there is a Supreme Ruler who never leaves the helm, who knows what is really best for man when man himself does not." Consequently, those awful attributes of Deity manifesting his wisdom, power, omniscience, and mercy are constantly dwelt upon rather than those of tenderness and pity, with which is more particularly associated the idea of the Fatherhood of God in later Christian Theism. "Mohammed's notion of God had never been that of a great moral Being who designs that the creatures He has created should, from love and gratitude to Him, become one with Him, or even assimilated to Him. Mohammed believed in God, feared, reverenced, and obeyed Him after his light, as few Jews or Christians ever did ; but he could hardly be said, in the Christian, or even the Jewish, sense of the word, to love God."† This is an aspect of Islamic Theism to which I shall have occasion to return.‡ Similarly, prayer with the Muslim, unlike the supplications so often heard in our own churches, partakes rather of the nature of a meditation on these attributes ; a communing, as it were, with the power and the majesty, the wisdom and the mercy of God.

Such are the notions, interspersed with various injunctions as

* Emanuel Deutsch.

† R. Bosworth Smith.

‡ The peculiar tone of Muslim piety is beautifully and sympathetically interpreted in Sir Edwin Arnold's volume of verse entitled *Pearls of the Faith ; or, Islam's Rosary.*

to conduct and various fantasies drawn from the current superstitions concerning angels and devils and the Last Day, which form the burden of that singular compilation known as the Koran,* regarded by the faithful as one of the finest productions in the Arabic. Conceived in the spirit of that love for poetic diction which characterized the Arabs of that period, this work, put together in its existing form after the prophet's death from the various documents—some, it is said, consisting of pieces of bone and the like—on which had been preserved the various oracles or "revelations" with which the Prophet from time to time favoured his followers, is a species of religious didactic poetry of the most intense character. "Not the most passionate grandeur, not the most striking similes, not the legends, not the parables, not the sweet spell of rhyme-fall and the weaving of rhythmic melodies, and all the poet's cunning craft—but the kernel of it all, the doctrine, the positive, clear, distinct doctrine. And this doctrine Mohammed brought before them in a thousand, so to say, symphonic variations, modulated through the whole scale of human feeling....... The Koran is a wonderful book in many respects, but chiefly in this, that it has no real beginning, middle, or end. Mohammed's mind is best portrayed here. It was not a well-regulated mind. ......Broadly speaking, three principal divisions may, with psychological truth, be established: the first, corresponding to the period of early struggles, being marked by the higher poetical flight, by the deeper appreciation of the beauties of nature, in sudden, most passionate, lava-like outbursts, which seem scarcely to articulate themselves into words. The more prosaic and didactic tone warns us of the approach of manhood, while the dogmatizing, the sermonizing, the reiteration, and the abandoning of all Scriptural and Haggadistic helpmates point to the secure possession of power, and to the consummation and completion of the mission. But these divisions must not be relied on too securely. There rings through what may fairly be considered some of the very last Revelations ever and anon the old wild cry of doubt and despair; the sermon turns abruptly into a glowing vision; a sudden rhapsody inappropriately follows a small dogmatic disquisition, or a curse fiery and yelling as any of the hottest days is hurled upon some unbeliever's doomed head; while the very first utterances at times exhibit the theorizing, reflecting, arguing tendencies of ripe old age......The grandeur

* Literally "Reading" or "Recitation."

of the Koran, on the other hand, consists, its contents apart, in its diction." Here, in order to win a hearing from a people highly affected by poetical composition, and who attached high honour to its pursuit, "he had not merely to rival the illustrious of the illustrious, but to excel them. Those grand accents of joy and sorrow, of love and valour and passion, of which but faint echoes strike on our ears now, were full-toned at the time of Mohammed."

Such is the nature of this strange contribution to the number of books which mankind, under such varying circumstances, have deemed "sacred," so separating them in their esteem from all ordinary literature. "A Book by aid of which the Arabs conquered a world greater than that of Alexander the Great, greater than that of Rome, and in as many tens of years as the latter had wanted hundreds to accomplish her conquests ; by the aid of which they, alone of all the Shemites, came to Europe as kings, whither the Phœnicians had come as tradesmen, and the Jews as fugitives or captives ; came to Europe to hold up, together with these fugitives, the light to Humanity—they alone, while darkness lay around ; to raise up the wisdom and knowledge of Hellas from the dead ; to teach philosophy, medicine, astronomy, and the golden art of song to the West as well as to the East ; to stand at the cradle of modern science, and to cause us late epigoni for ever to weep over the day when Granada fell."*

III.

On its more social side Islam includes certain regulations for the ordering of daily life, together with related ethical teachings, in common with the other great world-faiths. One of the most noticeable of these regulations concerns the ablutions requisite to prayer ; the giving practical effect to which created the splendid public baths of the best types of the earlier Moslem civilization, which in itself, no doubt, helped to favour so excellent a practice. Whether those ethics are superior or inferior in comparison is a question which does not immediately concern us at present ; and the relation of these primal instructions to the Islamic polity as eventually affected by the external civilization, with which it was to have so fateful an association, will be treated in due course. Mohammed is generally credited with the introduction of certain

* Emanuel Deutsch.

changes for the better in the conditions of Arabian society prior to the extension among his countrymen of the new faith, especially with regard to the status of women and slaves ;* while the charge often made against Islam, that it easily lends itself to self-indulgence, and hence its popularity with those who become disciples, has been answered by an English student of this question, and one writing from a Neo-Christian standpoint, to the effect :—" Nor is it true, in any sense of the word, if we appeal to its primal documents, and not to the lives of its more unworthy professors, that Mohammed's is an easy or sensual religion. With its frequent fasts, its five prayers a day, its solitudes, its almsgivings, its pilgrimages, even in the tortures of Indian fakirs and the howlings of Mecca dervishes, which are the abuse, and not the use, of the religion, it certainly does not appeal much to the laziness, or the sensuality, or the selfishness of mankind. I do not say that its morality is perfect or equal to the Christian morality. Mohammed did not make the manners of Arabia, and he was too wise to think that he could either unmake or remake them all at once. He at least put some limitations on the unbounded license of Eastern polygamy and the absolute recklessness of Eastern divorce. If the two social touchstones of a religion are the way in which, relatively to the time, it deals with the weaker sex, and the way in which it regards the poor and the oppressed, Mohammed's religion can stand the test. Mohammed did not abolish slavery altogether, for in that condition of society it would have been neither possible nor desirable to do so. But he encouraged the emancipation of slaves ; he laid down the principle

* An interesting witness to the impression made on the minds of the Prophet's early disciples by his general teaching is to be found in the account which has come down to us of the defence of their faith by certain of his converts who had been driven by the persecution of the Meccans to obtain refuge with the (Nestorian) Prince of Abyssinia. Here, when Meccan ambassadors pursued them and sought to obtain their extradition, they declared their creed to the Negus : "We lived in ignorance, in idolatry, and unchastity ; the strong oppressed the weak ; we spoke untruth, we violated the duties of hospitality. Then a prophet arose, one whom we knew from our youth, with whose descent and conduct and good faith and morality we are all well acquainted. He told us to worship one God, to speak the truth, to keep good faith, to assist our relations, to fulfil the rights of hospitality, to abstain from all things impure, ungodly, unrighteous. And he ordered us to say prayers, give alms, and to fast. We believed in him ; we followed him. But our countrymen persecuted us, tortured us, and tried to cause us to forsake our religion, and now we throw ourselves upon your protection with confidence." The story proceeds that they then read him the nineteenth chapter of the Koran, which speaks of Christ and John the Baptist, and that they all wept, the King dismissing the Meccan messengers, and refusing to give up the refugees.

that the captive who embraced Islam should be *ipso facto* free, and, what is more important, he took care that no stigma should attach to the emancipated slave in consequence of his honest and honourable life of labour. As to those who continued slaves, he prescribed kindness and consideration in dealing with them. Nor does Mohammed omit to lay stress on what I venture to think is as crucial a test of a moral code, and even of a religion, as is the treatment of the poor and the weak—I mean the duties we owe to what we call the lower animals. There is no religion which has taken a higher view in its authoritative documents of animal life." It may be observed here, in passing, that a complete ethical code actually adapted to all the varying exigencies of the ever-growing complexity of human society, in all its distinctive types, is hardly to be looked for in connection with any of the supernatural religions. Those actions not specifically sanctified will be regarded as of little moment by the more ignorant devotees ; and the changes in social conditions, through centuries, will render nugatory other original prescriptions, with the inevitable consequence of an immense lacuna between theory and practice, of which Christendom itself offers several familiar examples. This desideratum yet remains as the master-task of the emancipated human spirit, guided by reason and knowledge towards the goal of the Human Ideal. But we are anticipating.

One great quality pertaining to social Islam calls for recognition, and that is its assertion of the complete equality of all Muslims. Here it is hopefully differentiated from that other vast Oriental system of Hinduism with which our rule is connected —with its minute and rigid caste conservation—which renders it so little susceptible to the introduction of any principle of social betterment. This is mordantly illustrated in the well-intentioned efforts of the Indian Government to suppress *Sati*—the immolation of the widow on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband ; a movement anticipated earlier by the great Mughal, Akbar. This restriction has resulted in leaving the hapless victim without a place in the social order, she having thereby failed in one of her highest duties ; and yields a fruitful instance of the obstacles presented to all reforming legislation from without which has not been predetermined by a correlative change in the existing mental conditions of those whom it seeks to affect. The rise of men of obscure and lowly origin to high place and power is one of the most frequent and characteristic elements in Moslem history ; and the testimony to the spirit obtaining in the Mohammedan

world in this respect is almost universal. An English traveller in Central Asia is struck by the easy, yet dignified, intercourse obtaining between all classes of Moslems: "all the inferior classes possess an innate self-respect and a natural gravity of deportment which differs as far from the suppleness of a Hindustani as from the awkward rusticity of an English clown." This element is really one of the chief causes of its success as a missionary faith among the less-evolved races, rather than the traditional explanation of its sensual attractiveness so often proffered. As Mr. Bosworth Smith very aptly observes: "In India, for instance, Mohammedans make converts by hundreds from among the Hindus, while Christians with difficulty make ten, and this partly, at least, because they receive their converts on terms of entire social equality, while Europeans, in spite of all the efforts of missionaries to the contrary, seem either unwilling or unable to treat their converts as other than inferiors. The Hindu who becomes a Christian loses, therefore, his own cherished caste without being admitted into that of his rulers.

"The Hindu who turns Mohammedan loses his narrow caste, but he becomes a member of the wide brotherhood of Islam. In Africa there is, happily, no caste system analogous to that of India, but like causes have, even there, produced like effects or like contrasts. The 'Negro' converted to Islam is received at once as an equal by the Arab, or the Moorish, or the Mandingo missionary who has brought him his message; he is enrolled in a fraternity which has influenced half the world, and in which negroes themselves have played no inconsiderable part. A literature and a language are thrown open to him which, if they are not his own, are yet a classical literature and language, and one which he may well claim as in some sense his, in view of what they have already done for his race. He thus acquires a sense of independence, of dignity, and of brotherhood, to which he was before a stranger. The Christian negro, on the other hand, with few exceptions, still feels at an immeasurable distance from those Europeans to whom, indeed, he owes the message of love that he has received, but who, as a race, for centuries past, have enslaved and sold him; and, alien as they are to him in all respects, still debar him from the possession of his own coasts, that they may enrich themselves with his merchandise, or flood his country with those ardent spirits which are the curse of their own. He sets to work to imitate, as best he may, the dress and the habits, the virtues and the vices,

of those who have so little in common with him ; and the result is that with which we are all familiar."

The general social trend of Islam has been authoritatively summarized by the Sheikh-ul-Islam at Constantinople.* After referring to the four duties of Prayer (which includes ablution), Alms, Fasting, and Pilgrimage, he says :—" As to the question of alms, it would be necessary to enter into great detail to demonstrate their importance to the welfare of human society. Thanks to this rule, the poor man recognizes the rich man as his natural protector. Besides, assistance to the poor being for the Mussulman a natural thing and a daily action, there are many persons who, as regards alms, go beyond the legal proportion. The poor man takes his place at the table of the rich ; the guests who arrive, at the moment of placing themselves at table, are welcomed and loaded with attentions.† To whatever condition he belongs, we give a morsel of bread to the poor man who is hungry and asks for it ; this is why, among Mussulmans, it has become proverbial to say that no one dies of hunger. The servants are fed on the same dishes as their masters, only they are served after the masters. With regard to the manner of living, there is similarity and proximity between the poor and the rich. In the Mosque there reign a complete equality and a perfect liberty. For these reasons we do not remark in the Mussulman social organization a very great distance between the two classes ; and, the boundary which separates the rich from the poor not having, as in Christian States, a violent and precise character, we see among them no trace of disagreement and enmity ; consequently, among Mussulmans there exist no factions such as the Communists, the Socialists, and the Nihilists, and there is no probability that a similar danger should arise in the future. The extension and the rapid progress of the Mussulman religion in all parts of the world, the fidelity to their religion of which the Mussulman people have given proof, and the constancy in their convictions which they have displayed in the midst of so many crises and immense difficulties, are a natural consequence of these truths.

" Marriage is a contract between the husband and the wife, and

* In 1888. Translated from *La Revue de l'Orient*, in appendice to a published lecture on "Muhammadanism," by Dr. Leitner. The latter observes: "Every Muhammadan is a church in himself; every one is allowed to give an opinion on a religious matter, on the basis of the belief common to his co-religionists."

† This genial hospitality is a familiar feature in the stories of the *Arabian Nights*.

they alone are the contracting parties ; only, this contract must be formulated in the presence of two witnesses. By marriage the husband acquires the right to enjoy, in a legal manner, his wife's company ; but by this her liberty is in no way infringed. A married woman disposes of her goods as she thinks proper ; she buys and sells without her husband having the right to interfere. As to the husband, he must provide for the dwelling, the subsistence, and the clothing of his wife. If the husband repairs to another country, he cannot force his wife to follow him, and, at the same time, he cannot cease to maintain her......

"Let us pass from the theory of these questions to their practical result. We say, then, that many Christian men and women remain celibate, while celibacy is rare among Mussulmans. In towns where the inhabitants are all Mussulmans there are no taverns, gaming houses, or brothels, nor is there even an idea of organizing prostitution, as if it were a natural necessity of social conditions. The contagious diseases engendered by prostitution are unknown, thanks to the Mussulman religion.

"If we examine attentively the political conditions and system approved by Islam concerning governmental institutions and public administration, we see that the State which should conform itself strictly to this system and to these conditions would secure to itself, on the one side, the principles of liberty most in conformity with justice and equity, and, on the other, the discipline and power proper to absolute Governments. And, thus, this State would have a power and a strength of which no politician has conceived."

Such being the case, the question may now be fairly raised : How, then, are we to account for the decline and stagnation which appear to have fallen upon nearly all Moslem nations, and what prospect does the situation hold out for any definite improvement in the future ? To answer this question at all adequately requires an extensive consideration of a number of related sociological issues, of the connection between race, climate, life-conditions, degree of culture, and their interaction with a dominant faith. In so far as any religion tends to fixation of thought, to finality, and exclusiveness, whatever degree of relative enlightenment it may originally have borne to the notions it has superseded, it will tend to become in turn a force of regression, unless affected for the better by innovating ideas and influences. This tendency is well illustrated in the various interpretations given to the notion of predestination in Islam, a matter left in considerable doubt by the language of the Koran. That there are elements of fanaticism,

intolerance, superstition, exclusiveness in Mohammedanism, must be frankly conceded; and in so far as this haughty creed has been literally and exclusively interpreted by its more ignorant adherents, it has tended to make for backwardness in a world where continual change and re-adaptation is the law of existence. From the scientific standpoint, Mohammed himself must be finally reckoned as a fanatic—a noble fanatic, it is true; but approaching in his intellection to that order of morbid neuropathic cerebration which probably constitutes the psychical basis of all the "prophets"—whose strength lies in the intense emotional exaltation of their appeal; the element which differentiates the mind of Jesus, Paul, or Mohammed from that of Aristotle, or Socrates, or Spinoza, where ratiocination is supreme. Yet the history of Islam, as has already been indicated, affords a vivid contrast to the estate upon which, in these days, it would seem to have fallen, in that it has been associated with some of the most brilliant ages in the world's course. What, then, is the *rationale* of this singular psychological paradox, to find the meaning of which is absolutely essential to any final conclusion on the whole problem we have undertaken to examine? I think we shall find the explanation one full of promise with respect to the special circumstances which induced this survey at the outset. A partial light on the subject may be gathered from an incisive judgment on the parallel phenomena presented by Christendom: "Neither history nor more recent experience can furnish any example of the long retention of pure Christianity by a people themselves rude and unenlightened. In all the nations of Europe Christianity has taken the hue and complexion of the social state with which it was incorporated, presenting itself unsullied, contaminated, or corrupted in sympathy with the enlightenment, or ignorance, or debasement of those by whom it has been originally embraced. The rapid and universal degeneracy of the early Asiatic Churches is associated with the decline of education, and the intellectual decay of the communities among whom they were established." Let us investigate the historic aspect of the problem a little more closely.

IV.

The race whose connection with the great human movement may be said to begin with Mohammedanism constitute a branch of the Shemite peoples, who for ages had roamed over the deserts

o Arabia, tracing their descent trom the traditional patriarch, Abraham, through the outcast Ishmael, and were early known as the "Easterns" or Saracens. Here, except through the ordinary channels of commerce, they had lived apart from the main turmoil of the world, little affected by the recurring struggles of neighbouring powers for supremacy, as Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Greece, Rome, in turn rose to dominion. Secure in their impenetrable natural fastness, they had lived their life of liberty and independence: predatory, brave, hospitable, lovers of poetry and women, proud, warlike, and intractable. The superstitions peculiar to their surroundings prevailed among them, though they were little disposed to any very definite pietism, their poetry, unlike that of the Hebrews, being of an entirely secular character. Their principal object of veneration was the celebrated Black Stone—the Kaaba—preserved at Mecca, which seems to have been credited with the possession of occult powers, and was an object of pilgrimage and a centre of social life. We have already noted Mohammed's relation to the clan of the Koreish, who were its hereditary guardians. The former seems to have met with little sympathy from the Meccans on first declaring his "mission." Several of the leading poets satirized his pretensions; and it was only after he had created a party in Medina, sufficiently powerful to over-awe the Meccans, that his movement began to make headway. His recourse to the sword as an ally to his cause is typical of the usages of his countrymen; simply intensifying the internecine strife common to their life by the introduction therein of a religious dogma. At the time of his death the greater part of Arabia had been won to the faith, and his successors in the leadership (or Khalifate) of the now potent forces of Islam turned their attention to the rich lands around. In the career of conquest to which the faith was thereby impelled, the prospect of plunder was doubtless an added incentive, whatever of genuine fanaticism entered into the movement. So the strange spectacle was soon presented to a horrified world of the banner of Islam planted in the most sacred places of Christendom; "and the tutelar saints, who had worked so many miracles when there was no necessity, were found to want the requisite power when it was so greatly needed."

With an astonishing rapidity Syria, Egypt, Persia, Asia Minor, Africa, Spain, became incorporated in the dominion of the Moslems. Their war-cry was heard on the banks of the Indus, and their triumphant progress in Europe was only frustrated on the plains of France at the terrible battle of Tours, but not before they had even

insulted the Eternal City itself. As the Moslems began to settle in their new domains—a process naturally quickened by their practice of concubinage with their female captives—the fresh influences introduced into their life by the various forms of civilization and social polity with which they had now become acquainted began speedily to effect a change in their habits and method of thought. The natural worldliness of the Saracens rendered them easily susceptible to the amenities of life thereby made available. The Khalifs began to surround themselves with magnificence and luxury. The new intellectual resources also made known—the classic treasures of Greek philosophy and poetry and Latin literature—were eagerly assimilated by the more advanced minds ; and here the friendship of the Nestorians—the one Christian sect who had sought to harmonize Christian doctrine with the philosophy of Aristotle and the pursuit of knowledge—proved a fruitful stimulus in leading the Saracen mind to wider and greater fields of thought. Their treatment of the Jews, of whom thousands existed in the cities they had conquered, and with whom their own monotheism had so much in common, was extremely liberal, and proved an important factor in their development. "Associated with the Nestorians, they translated into Syriac many Greek and Latin philosophical works which were re-translated into Arabic. While the Nestorian was occupied with the education of the children of the great Mohammedan families, the Jew found his way into them in the character of a physician.'

Under these circumstances—and apart from the sects which had arisen in Islam with regard to the interpretation of the Koran and kindred matters relating to its primal institutions—there grew up in the Moslem world two great divisions : one favouring the pursuit of science, philosophy, letters, and leaning to a latitudinarian view of the primitive doctrines ; the other, antagonistic to these liberal tendencies—the Puritans of the faith. As one of their poets expressed it : "The world holds two classes of men—intelligent men without religion, and religious men without intelligence" ; and this fact, to an extent, divided the Moslem power, through all its various internecine dissensions, down to the period of its decline. Under the more enlightened Bhagdad Kalifs, learned men were invited into their courts irrespective of their creeds ; colleges multiplied in all directions ; extensive libraries were established : "the elevated taste thus cultivated continued after the division of the Saracen empire by internal dissension into three parts." To one of the foremost of these patrons, Al-Mamun, is

credited the utterance, at once as wise as it is noble : "They are the elect of God, his best and most useful servants, whose lives are devoted to the improvement of their rational faculties ; the teachers of wisdom are the true luminaries and legislators of this world, which, without their aid, would again sink into ignorance and barbarism." The anthropomorphic conceptions of Deity set forth in the Koran—a vast phantasm of Humanity—were superseded in the more cultivated minds by those pantheistic and impersonal attributes into which all Theistic ideas become resolved when analyzed by reason and instructed thought.* But, what is, perhaps, of the greatest moment to the cause of humanity, an immense impulse was given to the development of natural science, a pursuit which reacted equally on the growth of improved agriculture and the industrial arts. That body of exact knowledge which had been advanced so admirably under the Greek rulers of Egypt, but which had fallen into neglect during the mental darkness which had supervened on the rise of the latest Egyptian theology, was taken up by the Saracens and extended in numerous directions by experiment and observation. A brief summary of their service here, by a competent historian,† may help to a final estimate :—

"The first medical college established in Europe was that founded by the Saracens at Salerno, in Italy. The first astronomical observatory was that erected by them at Seville. The ancient sciences were greatly extended : new ones were brought into existence. The Indian method of arithmetic was introduced, a beautiful invention, which expresses all numbers by ten characters, giving them an absolute value, and a value by position, and furnishing simple rules for the easy performance of all kinds of calculations. Algebra, or universal arithmetic—the method of calculating indeterminate quantities, or investigating the relations that subsist among quantities of all kinds, whether arithmetical or geometrical—was developed from the germ that Diophantus had left. Mohammed Ben Musa furnished the solution of quadratic equations, Omar Ben Ibrahim that of cubic equations. The Saracens also gave to trigonometry its modern form, substituting sines for chords, which had been previously used ; they elevated it into a separate science. Musa, above mentioned, was the author of a *Treatise on Spherical*

* Thus Al-Gazzali (A.D. 1010) : "A knowledge of God cannot be obtained by means of the knowledge a man has of himself, or of his own soul. The attributes of God cannot be determined from the attributes of man. His sovereignty and government can neither be compared nor measured."

† Dr. J. W. Draper.

Trigonometry. Al-Baghadadi left one on land-surveying, so excellent that by some it has been declared to be a copy of Euclid's lost work on that subject.

"In astronomy they not only made catalogues, but maps of the stars visible in their skies, giving to those of the larger magnitudes the Arabic names they still bear on our celestial globes. They ascertained, as we have seen, the size of the earth by the measurement of a degree on her surface, determined the obliquity of the ecliptic, published corrected tables of the sun and moon, fixed the length of the year, and verified the precession of the equinoxes The treatise of Albategnius on *The Science of the Stars* is spoken of by Laplace with respect ; he also draws attention to an important fragment of Ibn-Juris, the astronomer of Hakem, the Khalif of Egypt, A.D. 1000, as containing a long series of observations, from the time of Almansor, of eclipses, equinoxes, solstices, conjunctions of planets, occultations of stars—observations which have cast much light on the great variations of the system of the world. The Arabian astronomers also devoted themselves to the construction and perfection of astronomical instruments, to the measurement of time by clocks of various kinds, by clepsydras and sun-dials. They were the first to introduce, for this purpose, the use of the pendulum.

"In the experimental sciences they originated chemistry ; they discovered some of its most important re-agents—sulphuric acid, nitric acid, alcohol. They applied that science in the practice of medicine, being the first to publish pharmacopæias or dispensatories, and to include in them mineral preparations. In mechanics they had determined the laws of falling bodies, had ideas by no means indistinct of the nature of gravity ; they were familiar with the theory of the mechanical powers. In hydrostatics they constructed the first tables of the specific gravities of bodies, and wrote treatises on the flotation and sinking of bodies in water. In optics they corrected the Greek misconception that a ray proceeds from the eye and touches the object seen, introducing the hypothesis that the ray passes from the object to the eye. They understood the phenomena of the reflection and refraction of light. Alhazen made the great discovery of the curvilinear path of a ray of light through the atmosphere, and proved that we see the sun and moon before they have risen, and after they have set.

"Passionate lovers of poetry and music, they dedicated much of their leisure time to those elegant pursuits. They taught Europe the game of chess ; they gave it its taste for works of fiction

—romances and novels. In the graver domains of literature they took delight; they had many admirable compositions on such subjects as the instability of human greatness, the consequences of irreligion, the reverses of fortune, the origin, duration, and end of the world. Sometimes, not without surprise, we meet with ideas which we flatter ourselves have originated in our own times. Thus our modern doctrines of evolution and development were taught in their schools."

Throughout the existence of the first Moslem Empire an extensive commerce and industry also flourished. Commerce had at all times been held in honour by the Arabs; and, long before Mohammed, the Koreish tribe annually sent caravans laden with the products of Yemen into Syria. Maritime commerce was already highly developed in Chaldæa at the time of its conquest by the Arabs, and the latter took full advantage of the prevailing activity. Colonies were established along the coasts of Persia and India, and their traders ventured as far as the China Seas. The story of Sindbad the Sailor in *The Arabian Nights* attests their courage and energy in this direction. On the West, also, the same enterprise obtained, caravans carrying the produce of Spain from Tangier to Syria, Arabia, and Mesopotamia; and those from Asia Minor penetrated even to the frontiers of China. Their manufactures included glass of all kinds, refined sugar, armour, weapons, and wrought tools; all manner of cotton, wool, and leather goods, silks, brocade, muslin, and satin. The carpet manufacture attained an excellence which has continued to our own days, one of the few surviving evidences of the early Moslem civilization. The production of paper was carried on very extensively, this being largely furthered by their literary activity; while the art of bookbinding made corresponding advances, the custodians of the great libraries emulating each other in the care they bestowed on the embellishment of their precious manuscripts. Similarly with the crafts of the dyer, shoemaker, saddler, etc.; while the monumental architecture of the Saracens remains to attest the degree of skill reached in all its kindred arts. An excellent impression of their general social life is to be gathered from the fascinating pages of the celebrated *Arabian Nights*, with their vistas of all this many-sided life; their atmosphere of genial enjoyment, of cheerful industry among the poor, of splendour and refined luxury in the wealthy. But it is more especially in the Moslem dominion in Europe, and particularly in Spain, that the circumstances connected with the growth of Arabic culture merit the closest attention.

In the Eastern countries, mainly overrun by the Saracens, as we have seen, there was a stratum of civilized life, in some measure akin to their own, to the influences of which they speedily showed themselves amenable. But in Spain they entered into contact with a social state alien in most respects to what they had hitherto encountered, and existing at a comparatively barbaric level. Yet the Arabic rulers of southern Spain, as in due course they established themselves securely in possession, have won the unquestionable distinction of founding there one of the most enlightened polities, relatively to their time, ever exhibited by any nation in the history of the world. The elements of a refined civic life which had already been developed in their Eastern dominion seem to have reached their perfection here. At a time when all Europe was plunged in barbaric ignorance and savage manners, save where some lingering elements of the Roman polity were able to effect a humanizing tendency, there arose in the kingdom of the "Moors," as they are termed, beautiful, well-lighted, healthy cities, supplied plentifully with water by aqueducts from the neighbouring hills, and adorned with pleasant gardens; their houses warmed in winter by furnaces, furnished with carpets, and cooled in summer with perfumed air "brought by underground pipes from flower-beds." The remains of their architecture still testify to the delight they took in all forms of public magnificence. In Cordova it is said there were seven hundred mosques and nine hundred public baths. "The practical work of the field, the scientific methods of irrigation, the arts of fortification and ship-building, the highest and most elaborate products of the loom, the graver and the hammer, the potter's wheel, and the mason's trowel, were brought to perfection by the Spanish Moors. In the practice of war no less than in the arts of peace they long stood supreme. Whatsoever makes a kingdom great and prosperous, whatsoever tends to refinement and civilization, was found in Moslem Spain."* The Sultan Hakim is said to have owned a library of four hundred thousand volumes. It was at Cordova and Granada that the scientific movement we have already reviewed was carried forward with remarkable energy, and their colleges became the centre towards which came the intellectual inquirers of Europe. Indeed, from these emanated the movement for the establishment of similar institutions in the north; and the Universities of Paris and those of our own country are thus linked, as it

* Stanley Lane-Poole.

were, with the centres of learning founded by the Moors in Andalusia. An important element in the culture to which we owe these gains to the higher civilization was the part played therein by the Jews—those "fugitives" with whom they came to Europe "to hold up the light to Humanity—they alone, while darkness lay around." Treated by the Moslems with a tolerance in marked contrast to that extended to them by the preceding Christian rulers, they became an important factor in the intellectual development of this composite nation. And from this union of inquiring spirits was born that later form of advanced Theistic thought which came to be known in Europe as "Averroism," and which subsequently, together with the liberal conceptions of the Jewish thinkers, Maimonides and Spinoza, connects with the great development of modern European Rationalism, which in England may be said to reach its fullest individual expression in the comprehensive system of Herbert Spencer.*

Averroism is philosophical Islamism, though the Mohammedans regarded its reputed author as simply a commentator on Aristotle, and as presenting the opinions of the best philosophical schools up to his time. This system carries forward the idea of the unity of God by associating it with the universe itself as its active principle or intelligence. "The eternity of the world finds its true expression in the eternity of God. The ceaseless movement of growth and change, which presents matter in form after form as a continual search after a finality, which in time and movement is not, and cannot be, reached, represents only the aspect the world shows to the physicist and to the senses. In the eyes of reason the full fruition of this desired finality is already and always attained; the actualization, invisible to the senses, is achieved now and ever, and is thus beyond the element of time. This transcendent or abstract being *is* that which the world of nature is always *seeking*. He is thought or intellect, the actuality, of which movement is but the fragmentary attainment in successive instants of time. Such a mind is not, in the theological sense, a creator, yet the onward movement is not the same as what some modern thinkers seem to mean by development. For the perfect and absolute, the consummation of

* Averroes was born at Cordova in A.D. 1126, and died at Morocco in 1198. "The everlasting battle between reason and blind belief in 'that which is written' was fought with very grim seriousness in the early period of the Middle Ages within the bosom of the Jewish Church. To write a history of Jewish metaphysics would, indeed, be an undertaking worthy to rank with the highest, most difficult, most interesting, and instructive tasks, especially if attempted as a contribution to the history of human rationalism."—*E. Deutsch.*

movement, is not generated at any point in the process ; it is an ideal end, which guides the operations of nature, and does not wait upon them for its achievement. God is the unchanging essence of the movement, and therefore its eternal cause."* Such is the comparatively rational view reached by Arabic thought through its union with Greek philosophy and the practical pursuit of science, as contrasted with the primitive dogmatism of the Founder : a view which, as it sequentially re-acted on the more cultured intelligence of Europe, was denounced by the Church as a detestable heresy. Acknowledgment may well be made here of the debt which those who value modern enlightenment on these great issues owe to the above-named votaries of illumination. Alas, their work was to be rudely interrupted in the land of its origination, to be carried forward later in other spheres under more auspicious conditions ; never, let us trust, to be again frustrated. The growing power of Catholic Spain, assisted by the internecine dissensions of the Moors themselves, finally compassed their ruin ; and in place of their genial Humanism and general toleration was installed that diabolical instrument of one of the most debased religious tyrannies that has ever cursed the earth—the Spanish Inquisition. It has been computed that, from the fall of Granada in 1491 to the first decade of the seventeenth century, three million Moors were banished from Spain with every circumstance of heartless cruelty. From the consequences of this iniquitous policy in thus depriving the land of the services of her most intelligent and accomplished citizens Spain has never recovered. And their true memorial is now seen "in desolate tracts of utter barrenness, where once the Moslem grew luxuriant vines and olives and yellow ears of corn ; in a stupid, ignorant population, where once wit and learning flourished ; in the general stagnation and degradation of a people which has hopelessly fallen in the scale of the nations and has deserved its humiliation."

A similar fatality, though connected with a very different train of causes, had, in the meantime, overtaken the Moslem Empire in the East. Internal strife, together with the inroads of Mongol barbarians from the North, had broken the kingdom of the Baghdad Khalifs into pieces. Out of its ruins, it is true, there had arisen the ascendancy of the Ottoman Turks—with whom in the popular imagination the Mohammedan world is so often curiously and exclusively associated—who not only for long exercised a commanding power in Islam, but who even disputed the

* *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

supremacy in Europe with the Western powers. But with them is associated no revival of the intellectual, or æsthetic, or even commercial eminence of the first Moslem State. And along with their gradual decline—though with a few brilliant exceptions—a general stagnation seems to have settled over the world of Islam. In view of our own relation to this still important factor in human affairs, it now remains to endeavour to estimate its causes, and the prospect which the future may be held to enfold.

V.

WE have seen how the Arabs, naturally a turbulent and intractable race, were led, under the combined impetus lent by a vivid militant faith and the prospect of easily-won riches, to attempt the conquest of the known world. When the tumult and discipline incidental to the period of conquest had quietened somewhat and relaxed under more settled conditions of possession, their naturally factious and partizan spirit broke out again into an activity dangerous to the permanent security of their newly-won empire, and extended to all its parts. "In Spain, where the 'Emir of Andalus,' as he was styled, was appointed either by the Governor of Africa or by the Khalif of Damascus himself, these party differences worked havoc with the peace and order of the kingdom during the first fifty years of Moslem rule. Governors were appointed, deposed, or murdered in deference to the demands of some faction, who resented the government being entrusted to a man of the Medina faction, or objected to a nomination of a member of the Yemen party."* The Government, in fact, was first really consolidated in Spain under the energetic rule of a young member of the first dynasty of Khalifs, who had been compelled to flee from Damascus through a bloody revolution which had overthrown his House. Then the Moslem Empire suffered at the outset from the inherent weakness of all theocracies, where the spiritual and temporal powers are, at least nominally, vested in one head, and where the prevailing laws derive their sanction from the prescriptions of a supposed "sacred" book. The title "Khalif" signifies "successor" in the headship of Islam —successor, that is, to the founder, Mohammed. In the early days this office was appointed by election, as, indeed, in theory it ought always to be, in the view of that great body of Moslems

* Stanley Lane-Poole.

known as the "Sunnis," or traditionists, those who agree with the *consensus fidelium*. It was strongly held, however, by a second party—now termed the Shiahs—that this office should be hereditary in the persons of the Prophet's own family; and a schism arose in the beginning on this very question, which has continued until to-day. The Shiá view is that this position implies the spiritual Pontiff or "Imám" of Islam, and exists by Divine appointment. According to them, there have already been twelve Imáms in the direct line, the last of whom mysteriously disappeared from the sight of men, to eventually return as the Mahdi of Islam—a belief to which we referred in the earlier part of this study. The Shiah Moslems are numerous in Persia, where heterodox views have, from the first, been widely held. Early in the history of the Khalifate the problem was solved, in one way, by the reigning Khalif establishing his position by hereditary succession in his own family, in imitation of the practice of the Eastern rulers whose power had been overthrown; and separate Khalifates were subsequently set up in Spain and Egypt. In a similar manner the organization of the vast empire thus acquired was carried out much on the lines of that of Persia, many educated Persians of high birth being installed in important positions; while the institutions of the Koran had to be in some way modified to meet the enlarged complexity of new social conditions.* There consequently arose those sanguinary dynastic struggles which are a familiar feature in all early Oriental history. Towards the decline of the Baghdad Khalifate the influence of the Turkish body-guard, called in to protect the ruler from palace intrigues and factions, begins to make itself felt, much like that of the Pretorian Guard in Rome; thus preparing the way, in a measure, for the ultimate Turkish domination.

Again, the Islamic faith was carried among divers peoples of

* The first fountains of Mohammedan Law were the Koran, together with the "traditions" of Mohammed, consisting of decisions given by the Prophet in disputed cases on various occasions, but not recorded in the sacred book; the collective body of which constitutes the Sunna, or custom. These traditions were for long preserved only in the memory of the companions of Mohammed, or of those to whom they had been orally communicated. They were first committed to writing in the second century of the Moslem Era. In addition, there were also the judgments delivered by the first four Khalifs. Another school of law arose later at Irák, distinguished from that of Medina by a greater degree of independence, and which admitted the deductive and analogical method, according to which it was lawful to create precedents, so long as these retained the spirit of the original sources. Abu Hánifa worked out in this way a system of jurisprudence with which his name is still connected (Hanifite Law).

varying degrees of racial or mental development and culture, and so came to be interpreted much in the light of their natural predispositions : exhibiting itself in a broad, tolerant, latitudinarian spirit, or a superstitious and fanatical one, according mainly to " the enlightenment, or ignorance, or debasement" of those by whom it was originally embraced. In estimating the factors in the growth of the singular efflorescence of Saracenic culture we have passed under review, an important element is the natural play of culture-forces, when acting under circumstances favourable to their development. The general tendency of the Saracen mind, if one may be permitted such an ambiguous expression, would seem to have been towards a liberal view of things ; and, despite whatever of limiting or intolerant notions existed in the Prophet's teaching, so far as the Arabic element predominated in Islam, it lent itself on the whole to that wider outlook already noted. Mohammed himself is credited with countenancing the pursuit of learning, though how far he would have been sympathetic towards knowledge which impugned his own conceptions is certainly open to doubt. The fact remains that, with the growth of the Moslem intelligence through numerous intellectual stimuli, serious divisions soon arose over points of doctrine, and considerable mental activity began to be displayed on all those dubious questions of the Divine attributes, revelation, free-will, predestination, etc., which the Koran necessarily opened up to reflecting minds. And quite early, indeed prior to the seminal power exerted by Greek culture, we hear of the sect of the "Motazileh," or dissenters, with a corresponding "orthodox" party ; between whom was also fought that everlasting battle between reason and blind belief in "that which is written." These alien tendencies of liberalism and obscurantism, according as they have predominated in Islam, have been the real measure of its comparative enlightenment and prosperity or debasement ; shown alike in the singularly parallel case of Christendom, despite the orthodox misrepresentation of these great social issues until the rise of modern historic science. The movement of culture above described does not seem to have reached the masses to any great extent, though, as every Moslem received a certain amount of instruction in the Koran, Koranolatry flourished on the whole, and so received the support of the more ignorant and superstitious classes in the various intestine struggles due to the failure to establish a solid political basis to the commonwealth. They continued susceptible, as may easily be understood, to the influence of that

class corresponding to the priesthood in other societies. "The term is hardly an accurate one for Islam ; there is no priesthood in the strict sense of Catholic Christianity. The men who recite the prayers and preach the weekly sermons in the mosques are laymen taken from their shops or other occupations, and appointed for the time to lead the congregations. There is no distinction between laic and cleric in Islam. Nevertheless, there is something which tallies more or less with what we mean by a priesthood. There is always in Mohammedan countries a body of men whose lives are specially devoted to religion ; they may be dervishes with peculiar rites, or they may be merely theological students, pupils of some renowned teacher, whose doctrine fills them with unwonted zeal and enthusiasm ; they may be reciters of the Koran or schoolmasters. Such a body is found throughout the Moslem world, and it has to be reckoned with in every Mohammedan country. The students of the Azhar mosque at Cairo, the Softas of Constantinople, the Mullahs of many an Eastern city, have shown what the force of fanaticism can avail in times of excitement."*

The Moorish rule in Spain exhibited all these features in vivid actuality. The mixed Berber and Arab population showed a general leaning towards darkness or light, as the one or the other predominated in the State. The Berbers from N. Africa, a rude and barbaric race, were always more amenable to the incitement of the priestly class than the more polished Arabs, who, indeed, half despised their Berber neighbours ; and it is to the Saracenic factor that the greatness of the "Moors" is mainly due.† In the final struggle with Catholic Spain "the one resource was to call in a new force of Moslem fanaticism in the shape of the Almoravide Berbers (properly Morabethin = men of God or of religion), who, to the utmost of their power, put down everything scientific and rationalistic, and established a rigid Koranolatry. After a time, they, in turn, growing degenerate, while remaining orthodox, were overrun by a new influx of conquering fanatics from Africa, the Almohades, who, failing to add political science to their faith, went down in the thirteenth century before the Christians in Spain in a great battle in which their prince sat in their sight with the Koran in his hand. The Jonah of Freethought, so to speak, had been

* Stanley Lane-Poole.

† *Moor* is conveniently used to denote the Arabs and other Mohammedans in Spain, but properly applies only to the Berbers of N. Africa and Spain. The present Kingdom of Morocco supplies a significant instance of the position taken above, being one of the most backward, fanatic, and exclusive States in the Moslem world.

thrown overboard, and the ship went down with the flag of faith flying at every masthead."*

The rise of the Ottoman power—whose famous insignia of the horse tails carried terror right into the heart of Europe, only to be permanently checked early in the eighteenth century—resting, as it did, on a purely military organization, did nothing for the resuscitation of the finer elements of Moslem civilization, thus shattered beneath the pressure of many baleful antagonistic forces. Originally a wandering tribe of the Mongol hordes who had overrun the Eastern Khalifate, the Turks advanced themselves by their prowess to be the rulers of a great portion of the Moslem world, as well as part of Europe. By his conquest of Egypt in 1518 the Sultan Selim succeeded to the authority of the Egyptian rulers over the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina. And, in recognition of this position, as well as of his supremacy among Mohammedan monarchs, the last survivor of the old line of Baghdad Kalifs, who had found a refuge and maintained a shadowy Court at Cairo, was induced to make over to Selim the spiritual authority he still affected to exercise. Thus the Turkish Sultans succeeded to the inheritance of this office, though how far they have since commanded the homage in that capacity of the orthodox Moslem world has always remained a questionable matter.

A further factor in the decline of the Saracens was the displacement of the great commercial interests brought about by the opening up of the new sea routes to the East and the appearance therein of the European competitor; the "economic" element in the case which is now being more consistently recognized in all analyses of complex social phenomena. The science they had assisted in promoting was taken up by the newly-emancipated Northern races; and, intelligently applied to the ordering and development of their own resources, yielded the foundation for that superior material power of the West which is so often associated, in some occult though unexplained way, with the superior influence of its nominal creed.

VI.

Affected on every side by the onpressing activity of the Western Powers, there is evidence of a widespread feeling of uneasiness now existing in the various Mohammedan communities, and of a

* J. M. Robertson's *History of Freethought.*

movement in the direction of Pan-Islamism for protection against the encroachments and possible domination this may portend. In Africa and Asia Mohammedanism in itself is permeated with missionary zeal and energetic life ; while in Central Africa the powerful order of the Senussiyeh, already noted, appears to be extending its ramifications in every direction. Like several of the movements, and these are numerous, which have arisen within Islam for its regeneration, the Senussi order is animated by a spirit of antagonism to the innovations associated with the Westerns, and by the doctrine of a return to the primal simplicity of the Faith—a species of "Puritanism," in fact. On the whole, its methods appear to have been eminently superior to the bloody manifestations of "Madiism" in the Sudan, which started out with somewhat similar pretensions.* The long struggle with the West seems to have left the impression on the minds of the mass of Mohammedans, in their present comparative ignorance, that its superiority is in some way connected with the hated rival creed, and can only be met by a rigid assertion of their own. It is curious to find an English student of the problem,† whom we have

* In a recent article in the *Nineteenth Century* the view is put forward, on what appears somewhat conjectural evidence, of the likelihood of the Senussi Mahdi inaugurating a *Jihad* or Holy War. The well-informed opinion of the late Dr. Leitner on this subject may here be of service. After pointing out that, etymologically, the literal meaning of *Jihad* is "utmost exertion," he remarks : "As with the Christian, the Mussulman has to wage war with 'the world, the flesh, and the devil,' and so *Jihad* is of three kinds—namely, against a visible enemy, against the devil, and against one's self ; and all these three opponents are included in the term *Jihad*, as used in the 22nd Sura of the Koran, 27th verse. Thus to fight an enemy under conditions of great difficulty and opposition, the enemy, doing the same, is *Jihad*, it being remembered that the earliest enemies with whom Muhammadanism had to fight for its very existence were non-Muhammadans desirous of suppressing a hated religion......We have no hesitation in stating that an unbiassed study of the Muhammadan Scriptures will lead one to the conclusion that all those who believe in God and act righteously will be saved. Indeed, the ground is cut off from under the feet of those people who maintain that *Jihad* is intended to propagate the Muhammadan religion by means of the sword. It is, on the contrary, distinctly laid down in the *Sura* called 'Pilgrimage' that the object of *Jihad* is to protect mosques, churches, synagogues, and monasteries from destruction, and we have yet to learn the name of the Christian crusader whose object it was to protect mosques or synagogues. Of course, when the Arabs were driven from Spain, to which they had brought their industry and learning, by Ferdinand and Isabella, and were driven into opposition to Christians, the modern meaning of *Jihad* as hostility to Christianity was naturally accentuated. Indeed, *Jihad* is so essentially an effort for the protection of Muhammadanism against assault that the Muhammadan generals were distinctly commanded not to attack any place in which a single Muhammadan call to prayer could be performed, or in which a single Muhammadan could live unmolested as a witness to the faith." (Appendix to lecture on *Muhammadanism.*)

† Mr. Bosworth Smith.

had occasion to cite in the course of our survey, echoing in a way this view of the future of Islam by sympathetically arguing for a return to the original spirit of the creed as a solution for the ills which have befallen its votaries. Such were, indeed, a fatal counsel to offer the Mohammedans, were they mindful to listen. For the world of Islam to aim to seek salvation by a return to the Koranolatry which is associated with the decline of its greatest epoch—for that is what the return to its original spirit really means—would be a sad mis-reading of the facts of its own history, as well as of that of mankind. For what have been the conditions under which has been attained any reasonable measure of felicity in the course of human affairs? Why, freedom of thought and teaching, respect for the individual, protection to industry and its legitimate fruits, settled and ordered government, the pursuit, extension, and application of knowledge, open-mindedness to new and better ideas—these have been the determining factors. In so far as these have at any time existed under any creed, or apart from any creed, things have, on the whole, gone well; in so far as they have not, the reverse has been the case. And if Islam is once more to reach a high place in the comity of the nations, it will only be through a return to those enlightened comprehensive standards which had practically superseded the cruder notions of its origins, and under which alone it reached any potent position in the past.

Now it is just here that the paramount influence which the place that England occupies in relation to Islam legitimately entitles her to exercise may, if only intelligently directed, be so employed as to lead to results of the nature foreshadowed in the preceding pages, when discussing the sources of the rise of the earlier Arabic culture. A nation whose whole vital genius lies in the direction of an enlightened Humanism, whose religion, as set forth by its highest minds, is simply the doing of all good, and, wherever possible, the removal of all evil, led by the force of circumstances to exercise dominion over millions of these zealous and haughty devotees, may, when once its real bearing and character are properly understood on their part, be enabled to cause a revolution in their mental predilections similar to that which was wrought by the introduction of the science and philosophy of Hellas aforetime. For, notwithstanding the reactionary tendencies long at work, the tradition of the higher life has been maintained in various Moslem circles right through the period of decline, and only seems to await the proper quickening to awaken once more

into new and vigorous life. Mention has been made of the "heresies" which arose in the early period with reference to the true interpretation of the first principles of the Faith. Among these is the interesting phase of that species of religious philosophy broadly classed as "Mysticism," and known in the Mohammedan world under the term of "Súfîism." Various explanations have been given of the derivation of this term, some referring it to the Greek *sophoi*, "the wise," others to the Arabic root *safi*, or to *suf*, which signifies what is pure. In its essence this doctrine aims at a more spiritual interpretation of the Divine Existence than is accorded by the stern and awful Being of the orthodox Moslem conception. On its more philosophical side it represents a form of spiritualistic Pantheism, regarding God as identical with Pure Being, as not merely the *greatest*, but the *only*, Reality, immanent in everything and everywhere, and only to be truly apprehended in the spirit of *Love*.

> "Thou art Absolute Being: all else is naught but a phantasm.
> For in Thy universe all things are one."

In practical life the Sufis have generally been quietists; and under this convenient term various heterodox opinions have apparently been entertained widely alien to the dogmatism of the less enlightened believers, "from a comparatively orthodox Muhammadanism tinged with Platonism, to a Platonism almost merged in Pantheism, and often characterized by strong theurgic tendencies." It is a doctrine which permeates the teaching of many of the great Persian poets, owing to its having been widely held in that country, where it would seem to have mainly received literary expression. The celebrated astronomer-poet, Omar Khayyám, is to an extent included therein, the present popularity of whose "quatrains" in liberal circles in England is a significant portent of the developments which the future may open up to us through the sympathetic intercourse of the higher culture of the East and West. Of Súfîism in general it has been said that, "whether as inculcating quietism, or as widening the narrow Theism of Islam into Pantheism, or as sheltering an unaggressive Rationalism, it has made for freedom and humanity in the Mohammedan world, lessening the evils of ignorance where it could not inspire progress." Sir Richard Burton has described how he was created a master-Sufi by one of his instructors in the inner mysteries of the Faith, and how his diploma served him in good stead in the course of his adventurous association with Moslems.

Even more noteworthy than the persistence of this attractive form of mvsticism is the remarkable manifestation of social and religious enthusiasm, on a comparatively high plane of thought, which, under the name of " Bábíism," aroused society in Persia during the middle period of the nineteenth century. In its inception, intimately connected with the idea of the Imam Mahdi,* this movement has aroused such an earnest devotion in its adherents as to lead them to suffer terrible martyrdom with deathless fortitude in a cause which, on examination, appears to be truly touched by the " Enthusiasm of Humanity." Let us trust, in face of the continual renewal of its Hope among men, this spirit will yet prevail, when its votaries shall be enabled to front its eternal foes of malarial superstition, unenlightened selfishness, ignorance, and surviving barbarism by the embodiment of its purpose in a valid social, political, and religious science or art of life, in lieu of the pathetic yet unavailing emotionalism in which too often its efforts have come to successive frustrations. For, whatever may be our feeling towards the particular doctrines embraced in this last manifestation, the spirit of charity towards all other faiths enjoined by the teaching of Bábíism, its reassertion of the doctrine of human brotherhood, irrespective of race or creed, and its complete reliance on the force of persuasion as the means by which its aims are to be accomplished, compel the sympathetic attention of all who are seeking, through so many diverse paths, the goal of the better life. One of the most interesting features of this movement is its affirmation of the equality of women with men, and one of its most devoted leaders has been an accomplished Persian lady, who has sealed her testimony with her life. The main religious tenet of the sect is that God reveals His truth by successive stages, as man becomes mature enough to receive each higher phase of light ; that all the great prophets and teachers have been successive instruments for the effecting of this great purpose ; and that we have now reached a stage of development when a still higher revelation is possible. " A universal reign of peace, love, freedom, and unity

* According to the theory of the "Absent Imam," this personage was accustomed to communicate with his followers only through certain chosen representatives called " Gates " or " Bábs." When the last of these died, there ensued the period of the " Greater Occultation," noted above. The founder of the " Bab " sect gave himself out to be not only the " Gate " leading once more to communication with the " Imam," but also, in fact, the " Imam " himself ; though careful to assert that yet " one greater " than he would appear for the perfecting of what had been begun. Hence the name of the movement, of which an excellent account appears in *Religious Systems of the World.*

of belief and effort is the thing primarily aimed at; for Bábíism, in spite of the mystic enthusiasm which pervades it, differs from Súfíism in the essentially practical objects which it has in view. A material resurrection is denied, and the immaterial future of the spirit must not divert our thoughts from the work of regenerating the world. War must cease, nations must mingle in friendship, justice must become universal." It would appear to be the social teachings of Bábíism, and its attack on the corruptions of the established powers, which caused the fierce persecution that has practically outlawed the disciples from Persia. The surviving leaders and a number of adherents have since found an asylum in Syria. But, in view of the current notions of the unprogressiveness of the East, we hail this manifestation of the working in little-expected quarters of the same undying spirit which inspires the prophets, so to speak, and humanity of the West—the spirit of Ruskin, or of Emerson, or a John Stuart Mill.

Have we not here the presage of an advance in civilization surpassing, perhaps, all previous human efforts, by the effective union of the seekers after truth and humanity alike of East and West in their warfare against the self-same foes to rationality and happiness the world over? Here, then, would seem the opportunity of the real liberal element in the English nation for an undertaking which shall indeed become "imperial" in its scope, in that it implies the availing of the most splendid traditions and material resources of the West, blended with the profounder Eastern insight into the mysteries of the Infinite, for a greater measure of practical and intellectual illumination than has ever yet been vouchsafed to men.* It is more particularly to the rationalist spirit in English life, representing as it does the freest and most virile factors in our own society, that such a work must, in the first instance, most powerfully appeal. And the immense possibilities which appear to lie before that spirit, if only the requisite courage and initiative be forthcoming, is the conclusion to which this extended preliminary survey seems at length to justifiably lead us. It was just the potentialities latent in the finer elements of Islam, as compared with other aspects of Eastern thought, taken in conjunction with all the circumstances we have now reviewed, which suggested to the writer the way by which a beginning might be inaugurated in this direction. And I am happy

* As distinct from considerations of political interest or commercialism only, which influence the conduct of our affairs by the responsible administrators.

to be able to cite a valuable proposition in this very connection emanating from a distinctly Mohammedan source. In a letter to Dr. Leitner,* an Indian nobleman observes: "There are innumerable difficult questions connected with Islam which one should comprehend before expressing an opinion on the subject. While various united attempts are being made in Europe for the advancement of knowledge, no united efforts have ever been made there to inquire into the real nature of Islam. There has never yet assembled in any part of Europe to discuss this question a Conference consisting of such unprejudiced European scholars of Arabic as have well read the Koran and other works which are necessary for its proper comprehension, and also of such Mohammedan gentlemen as are acquainted with European sciences and arts, and the real nature of Christianity. I am desirous that a movement should be set on foot for having a network of associations to inquire into the real nature of Islam which will be the means of drawing the attention of the public to this question, and of affording an opportunity to competent persons to express their individual views thereon. Such associations should be established in various countries of the globe. If this idea were ever realized, it would be the first of its kind, so far as the Mohammedan religion is concerned. Perhaps the first association of this description may spring up in London, which abounds in learned, unprejudiced, and liberal-minded men. If suitable arrangements be made, many Mohammedans and Christians who are desirous of seeking the truth will be very glad to take part in this movement. Although at first this idea seems one likely to be attended with practical difficulties, yet, if such a movement were once set on foot, no obstacles would arise in the way of working out the scheme in its entirety. I am inclined to think that many of the learned societies that now exist in various parts of the world will be glad to further our aims, and to manifest their sympathy with our cause."

This suggestion, first offered a few years back, appears as admirable in itself, as it is an earnest of the feeling of instructed Mohammedans towards the present status of their correligionists; and I feel as much pleasure in once more bringing the idea it embodies before the attention of the English liberal world as in endorsing the feasibility of the scheme it sets forth. Indeed, it might prove a beginning in the movement indicated above. Were once such an association successfully inaugurated and extended in its

* Printed in the appendix to his lecture on "Muhammadanism."

proposed scope to an inquiry into the bearing of our most advanced and sincere Western thought on that of Islam, and the East in general, it would offer the very means for the beneficent exercise of the highest English and Mohammedan opinion upon all the problems arising out of that contact of East and West which particularly affects the Islamic world, while the existing protection of the *Pax Britannica* affords strength for their peaceful and rational solution. The methods to which such an organization would lend itself are so obvious and so far-reaching in their ultimate consequence as to require no detailed exposition here. Particularly would it assist in furthering the improvement of Mohammedan education. We already possess an instructive precedent for the value of such an instrument of progress in the old Asiatic Society of Bengal, founded under the enlightened patronage of Warren Hastings by Sir William Jones and other interested scholars, and which first revealed to the intelligence of the West the secrets of Brahman religion, philosophy, and jurisprudence. The stimulating effect which those new mental acquisitions have exercised on that intelligence is known to all students of these concerns. Such an organization would appear to be the one thing needful for furthering in part that greater work of evolving a more prescient and potent calibre of public opinion than has hitherto obtained in this country on these grave imperial issues, the necessity for which grows increasingly apparent, and to which reference was made in our introductory remarks.

One of the reasons advanced by the gentleman just cited for the present comparative backwardness of Moslem education is the neglect into which the study of the classic language of Islam has fallen. "Treatises on the various sciences and arts that were cultivated in former times by Mohammedans are now extant, but they are chiefly in the Arabic language, while the Mohammedans who speak that tongue form but a small proportion of the total Mussulman population of the world. The main languages in use among the Mohammedans, besides Arabic, are Urdu, Persian, and Turkish. The works that exist in Arabic on the ancient sciences and arts have not yet been all translated into these languages, nor have they been enriched with translations from European languages of works on modern sciences and arts. Original works, such as would be considered requisite for the purposes of a complete system of national Mohammedan education in all its branches, have not yet been produced in them. These languages—I mean those of the Muslim world, save Arabic—can only boast of a

limited number of works on literature and theology. The cultivation of the Arabic language itself began to decline in 656 A.H., after the fall of the Abbaside Caliphs, the reign of one of whom (Almamun) may be considered the Augustan period of Arabian literature, arts, and sciences. The attempts that have recently been made to produce translations and original works in that language do not appear as yet to have been crowned with any high degree of success." To these causes may be added the disinclination existing among Moslems to receive instruction from any but their own accredited teachers. It is pleasing, therefore, in this connection to be able to recognize the efforts which have recently gone forward in India to advance the interests of Mohammedan education—efforts mainly owing to the initiative and support of a distinguished member of their community, himself descended from the family of the Prophet Mohammed, the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan Bahadur. This gentleman, a member of the Viceroy's Council and a warm friend of the English, impressed by the needs of his countrymen in this respect, was enabled to organize some years back a small college at Aligarh, on the basis of associating Western education with the forms and methods of Islamic polity and usage. This institution has since happily met with a sufficient measure of success to lead to its being raised to the status of a university, with the right of conferring degrees—the first distinctive Mussulman university in the modern world. When we remember the part formerly played by the college of Cordova, we may well look to this new departure as a step towards the renaissance of the higher thought of Islam throughout the world.* If the theology peculiar to Islam lent itself in the past to expansion in the direction of Pantheism and the ideas of development and the unity of Nature we have passed under review, we may reasonably infer that, when once the science of to-day is presented by means of a sympathetic and authoritative organon, our modern conceptions of the universe will receive a ready acceptance. The support accorded to the proposed college at Khartoum, inaugurated by Lord Kitchener, which, however, necessarily aims at meeting less ambitious needs, and is intended as a primary basis for the improvement of material civilization in the unhappy Sudan,

* Speaking in reference to this project, a correligionist, writing in one of the English *Reviews*, declares: "If Mussulman people are to be re-united, if Mussulman States are to be allied, if Mussulman civilization is to exercise its judicious influence among men, it will only be through the help and co-operation of Great Britain."

may again be taken as affording an earnest of the good wishes of this country towards the welfare of Islam in so far as it lies in her power to promote this desired end. These are especially the ways in which the assistance to be obtained from the existence of an organization of the character above specified could be most usefully directed.

VII.

It remains to consider briefly the social and political outlook. We have seen how, in the opinion of no less an authority than the Sheikh-ul-Islam, the principle of social equality pervading this system constitutes much of its primary strength and the source of the fidelity to their religion of which Mussulman people have given proof. And so far as the system is prepared to lend itself to further adaptations required by the eternal flux of things, it undoubtedly contains many elements favourable to the introduction of social innovation and betterment. Yet it must be admitted that so far the history of the States of Islam has scarcely afforded a satisfactory instance of his dictum, that the State which should conform itself strictly to this system and to these conditions would have a power and a strength of which no politician has conceived. We have endeavoured to analyze some of the causes of this non-success. So far as the Indian Mohammedans are concerned, their status is, of course, identical with the polity of Great Britain, and we may trust to their eventually regaining that place in the public service which they enjoyed before the advent of the competitive system. This would now also hold good, to a large extent, in the case of Egypt and the other African States similarly affected by that polity. With regard to such States as Persia, Afghanistan, or Turkey, the keynote of English diplomacy should be friendship with the *peoples* of these nations, and a desire for the maintenance of their independence and the promotion of their good government. One of the greatest mistakes ever perpetrated by English policy was in allying itself with the Powers of Europe in guaranteeing the territorial integrity of Turkey for their own selfish purposes, at a time, too, when its effete government seemed likely to pass into the hands of the vigorous ruler of Egypt, Mehemet Ali. We have thereby lost that power of independent initiative which, wisely exercised, might have enabled us to retain the friendship of that country and at the same time to have prevented such fearful atrocities as the Armenian massacres, largely instigated, in fact, by the Porte itself, and from a desperate determination to maintain its

despotic authority in face of the menace of the Powers. "The policy of the European Powers towards the Porte has been uniformly selfish, and the policy has reacted upon themselves ; for the Turks are keen-witted, and will do nothing for those who will do nothing for them."* A free hand for England, and let it here be said a complete aloofness from all stultifying "alliances," are the conditions under which she can alone safely pursue her true line of action, which is simply the development and consolidation of her colossal imperial resources for securing the well-being and independence of the whole of the peoples who acknowledge in any way her protection. In no direction is this more true than in the treatment of what is called the Eastern Question. As a Moslem authority has well remarked† : "What you call the Eastern Question is further complicated by the inability of your European statesmen to grapple with the fact upon which so much turns—the distinction between the present rulers of Islam and the people. You treat with the Sultan and the Pashas, and you fancy you are treating with Islam. The rulers are not of the True Islam. They are usurpers, tyrants, foreigners, Khurds, Tartars, etc., who have conquered Islam, and usurped its sovereignty, its State, its democracy, by force of the sword. The sword put them there, the sword keeps them there. They oppress the people, and are hated by the people. It is the same in Persia......Islam never forgets that it is conquered, is never content, is always in revolt ;‡ therefore it is that terms made with its rulers—the Shah, the Sultan—are not necessarily made with the body of the people ; it is not as in European States, where you treat with the Cabinet, and through it with the people." The ill-advised attempts on the part of the Indian Government early in this century to force upon the Afghans a ruler they despised, and the consequent disasters which ensued, are a signal instance of the need for the widest possible knowledge of the conditions of all these Eastern questions in casting about for a solution. Although the vista opened up by any attempt on the part of England to further the true independence of Islam seems fraught with immense difficulties, it is reasonable to infer that the growth of amicable relations with her own Moslem subjects, and her position before the world as probably its most progressive Power, must exert a vast indirect influence in this direction. We appear at last to have attained to satisfactory

* Stanley Lane-Poole.
† In the *New Century Review* at the time of the Armenian disturbances.
‡ As in the case of the "Young Turkey" party.

relations with Afghanistan, whose ruler has only lately reaffirmed his staunch loyalty to our cause. It is not beyond the scope of a bold, wise diplomacy to achieve further similar results in Asia and Africa.

For a useful parallel we may turn with profit to the principles guiding the conduct of our relations with the Protected States of India. The area of these States, whose inhabitants are not British subjects, where British law has no force and British courts no jurisdiction, extends to about three-eighths of India, with a population of about one-sixth of the whole. They retain their practical independence on the condition that the administration conforms to the standard required by the Supreme Government. Steps have recently been taken to include these States in the military defence of India by the organization of corps raised within their borders and trained by British officers on the lines of the regular Indian army, but on the fundamental principle that the regiments remained under the direct control of the chiefs of these States, with whom rest the honour and responsibility of command. Some twenty-two princes now participate in this movement, with united forces amounting to nearly twenty thousand trained men; a valuable addition to the military resources of the Empire. This obligation on our part to maintain independence and yet to protect the people acted and re-acted, and it is obvious how enormous might be the pressure that England could beneficently exercise on the Mohammedan States were such a principle extended thereto in accordance with the special conditions to be considered, and how greatly the military security of her Eastern dominions could be simultaneously enhanced—a matter of no slight importance in face of the great military Powers now surrounding that dominion. The whole question, in fact, of the future of India may be said to resolve itself into the promotion of the powers of self-government and self-dependence and the unification of this group of nationalities and States while still remaining an integral part of that tacit federation of separate units and States which really constitutes the world-wide British commonwealth. The notion that India is to perpetually remain under a species of English tutelage is as unsound sociologically as it is politically unwise. Whether that other great system of Indian society—namely, Hinduism—is as capable of susceptibility to progressive influences as I have endeavoured to show is possible in the case of Islam, is an inquiry which requires a distinct and careful examination in itself. I have here simply sought to discuss one phase of

a situation presenting innumerable aspects for the exercise of qualified opinion. Among those aspects may be included the desirability of seeking to revive some of the beautiful indigenous industrial arts which formerly flourished under the Saracens.

The idea of progress has been a recurrent one throughout this survey, and it is fitting that some clear conception should be added, in conclusion, as to the sense in which this idea is intended to be understood, for it is one upon which considerable confusion of thought appears to exist. Analogies drawn from the factors of organic evolution, such as Mr. Spencer frequently employs, are apt to become misleading. Mere change of conditions does not, in itself, involve progress. Survival of the fittest has reference simply to the conditions determining the survival, and in no way implies that what would be humanly regarded as the *best* is therein included. There is no guarantee in the nature of things for the continuance or supremacy of any social type, however excellent in itself, without careful regard to all those factors in evolution which make for integration and preservation. Any true conception of progress must carry with it the impression of a distinct collective gain or acquisition in the ability of mankind to secure happiness; and in its broader interpretation it suggests the highest range of effective life-power or functioning along the whole plane of pleasurable existence, physical and mental, for man, woman, and child. And the social state that shall secure this desideratum for each individual member of the community *pari passu* with adequate protection from any destructive or retrogressive external agencies will have attained the completest fruition of human life that the order of this world can offer.

Such is the real meaning of freedom, and every limiting predisposition inherited from an ignorant antiquity, every superstition fettering thought, every useless social usage or corrupt domination obstructing growth to healthfuller possibilities of felicity, must be numbered among the foes to be overcome in the attainment of freedom. And although the ideal of progress is usually regarded as pertaining essentially to the life of the West, both there, as in the East, are exhibited forms of all these frustrative forces. If in the East we see the deadly influence of widespread ignorance, tyrannous custom, passive acquiescence in evils in themselves remedial as the will of the inscrutable Gods, in the West we are confronted with a wide lacuna between its ideals and actuality,—in the mass it seems as yet unworthy of its science and light, its culture and philosophy, and the immense potentialities

contained in its command over the material resources of nature. This is especially marked in the most advanced societies, such as England or America, with their fierce pursuit after material wealth founded on no clear understanding of what in truth wealth really consists, the uneven distribution of wealth and the possibilities of life, stolid acceptance of the ugly conditions so often connected with this strenuous production; the ill disposition of genuine culture even among their most favoured classes. The one satisfactory reality is the possession of the means to progress if these be only rightly directed. And while extending that conception to the communities of the East with whom the English polity has now become associated there is much that is of intrinsic service in their life which we ourselves might absorb in return. If from the West can be learned valuable lessons of the control and adaptation of the resources of nature to the needs and imperious will of man, to the East may we look for an exemplar of ineffable dignity and calm courage in the stress of circumstance, for an insistence on a regard for the infinite equally with the finite, which may yield a needed poise to our own fevered activity. When the finest qualities to be found in each distinctive contribution to human development are intelligently applied to the advancement, beautifying, and expansion of our common life, then may man be said to have justly entered into that inheritance of which he has hitherto so largely failed to realize the highest use. And this is a consummation to be devoutly desired alike for our own country and the world of Islam.